S. prt. 99-166

99th Congress
2d Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

S. PRT.
99-166

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ON THE

FEBRUARY 7, 1986 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE PHILIPPINES

SUBMITTED BY THE

UNITED STATES OBSERVER DELEGATION

PREPARED BY THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

AND

THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY BOSTON UNIVERSITY

NEWARK PUBLIC LIBRARY

AUG 14 1986

U. S. GOVT. PUBS.
DEPOSITORY 376

JUNE 1986

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1986

60-867 O

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402

Y4. F76/2:

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

RICHARD G. LUGAR, Indiana, *Chairman*

JESSE HELMS, North Carolina
CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, Jr., Maryland
NANCY L. KASSEBAUM, Kansas
RUDY BOSCHWITZ, Minnesota
LARRY PRESSLER, South Dakota
FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, Alaska
PAUL S. TRIBLE, Jr., Virginia
DANIEL J. EVANS, Washington

CLAIBORNE PELL, Rhode Island
JOSEPH R. BIDEN, Jr., Delaware
PAUL S. SARBANES, Maryland
EDWARD ZORINSKY, Nebraska
ALAN CRANSTON, California
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, Connecticut
THOMAS F. EAGLETON, Missouri
JOHN F. KERRY, Massachusetts

M. GRAEME BANNERMAN, *Staff Director*
GERYLD B. CHRISTIANSON, *Minority Staff Director*

CONTENTS

	Page
Map of the Philippines	IV
Index of Exhibits	V
Letter of Transmittal	VII
Acknowledgements	1
I. Introduction	2
A. The U.S. Observer Delegation	2
B. Election Observing Activities	2
C. Statement by the U.S. Observer Delegation	2
D. The Second Observer Mission	3
II. Views of the Election: the Internal Philippine Debate	4
A. The Government/KBL Party	4
B. COMELEC (Majority)	5
C. COMELEC (Dissenting View)	6
D. Opposition/UNIDO–PDP–LABAN	6
E. NAMFREL (Citizens Arm of COMELEC)	7
III. Executive Summary of the Delegation's Findings	8
IV. Conduct of the Election	10
A. COMELEC–NAMFREL Disputes	10
B. Efforts to Remove Accreditation from NAMFREL	13
C. The Walkout from the COMELEC Quick Count Center	14
D. Disenfranchisement of Registered Voters	16
E. Printing and Distribution of Counterfeit Ballots	19
F. Vote Buying	20
G. Flying Voter Activity During the Election	20
H. Violence and Intimidation during the Election	21
I. The Batasan Count	23

READEX MICRO best copy available

Philippines
Railroad
Road
Luzon
Sulu Sea
Celebes Sea

INDEX OF EXHIBITS

Exhibit	Description	Page
A	U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation Team Assignments	26
B	U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation Statement and list of delegation members.	27
C	2/14/86 White House press release on Second Observer Delegation. Second Observer Delegation schedule of meetings and list of delegation members.	29
D	Executive summary from "A Path to Democratic Renewal" the final report of the Democratic and Republican National Institutes for International Affairs international observer delegation and list of delegation members.	31
E	U.S. Embassy, Manila memorandum 2/15/86 compiling embassy reports on the conduct of February 7, 1986 election.	36
F	KBL affidavits from Misamis Oriental on alleged NAMFREL violations.	45
G	2/7/86 COMELEC cable to election registrars ordering transmission of returns through PT&T.	47
H	NAMFREL statistical report on intimidation and denial of presence.	54
I	2/6/86 Order from Negros del Norte provincial election supervisor revoking NAMFREL accreditation for Victorias. (Additional material on file with SFRC.).	57
	2/7/86 Order from San Carlos City, Negros del Norte acting election registrar revoking NAMFREL accreditation.	58
	1/27/86 Memorandum from Isabela governor Faustino N. Dy to KBL partisans on NAMFREL.	59
J	2/15/86 Affidavit by Pedro F. Baraoidan, project manager, COMELEC National Tabulation Project, on 2/9 walkout of computer programmers.	63
	2/15/86 COMELEC committee report on walkout of computer programmers.	72
K	NAMFREL draft study on disenfranchisement	76
L	COMELEC listing of voter turnouts for 1946–84 elections	82
M	2/8/86 NAMFREL report from Marikina, Metro Manila chairman listing disenfranchised voters. (Additional material on file with SFRC.).	
N	1/30/86 Letter to COMELEC from UNIDO executive-vice president listing irregular ballots distributed in Camarines Sur. (Additional material on file with SFRC.).	85
	Affidavit by Pasig, Metro Manila NAMFREL member detailing circumstances under which counterfeit ballots bearing COMELEC watermark were obtained.	90
O	2/13/86 Memorandum from E. Mark Braden to Allen Weinstein detailing vote-buying and other irregularities witnessed during the February 7 election.	95
	NAMFREL report from Pangasinan detailing effect of vote-buying on the conduct and outcome of the February 7 election. (Additional material on file with SFRC.).	96
P	2/6/86 En Banc resolution of the Supreme Court of the Philippines detailing safeguards ordered regarding special permission to vote granted to members of the armed forces.	104

		Page
Q	2/13/86 *Bulletin Today* photograph of the body of Former Antique province governor Evilio Javier.	107
	2/6/86 Telegram from Evilio Javier to Commissioner Ramon Felipe requesting action team from Manila to defuse pre-election tensions in Antique.	108
R	NAMFREL statistical report listing volunteers injured, missing, detained, and killed.	109
S	KBL affidavits from Sorsogon detailing intimidation of KBL campaign workers.	114
T	2/8/86 Minutes of municipal canvass listing New People's Army preventing conduct of election in precinct 13.	116
	2/13/86 Report from Davao City regional election director listing precincts unable to hold election due to actions by unidentified armed terrorists.	117
U	2/11/86 COMELEC resolution 1774	119
V	2/15/86 Batasang Pambansa resolution 799 proclaiming Ferdinand E. Marcos and Arturo M. Tolentino as duly-elected.	124
W	UNIDO photographs detailing irregular election returns used in the Batasan canvass of votes. List of irregularities in provincial election returns from Batasan resolution 799.	144
X	The Center for Democracy analysis of the Batasang Pambansa canvass of votes. Comparison of Batasan and NAMFREL tally showing undercounting in the "official" canvass.	163
Y	COMELEC and NAMFREL "quick count" tallies	165

EDITOR'S NOTE

Some of the original documents used as exhibits and referred to in the body of this report are not susceptible to clear photo-copying and reduction. In some cases, exhibits included in this printed report are of marginal legibility. However, all materials referred to herein are on file with the Committee on Foreign Relations.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC, June 9, 1986.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On January 30, 1986, I had the great honor of being appointed by you as co-chairman of the official U.S. Observer Delegation to the February 7, 1986, Philippine Presidential election. With my fellow co-chairman, Congressman John P. Murtha, and the 18 other members of the Delegation, I was witness to an extraordinary manifestation of democracy on the part of the Filipino people. The ultimate result was the election of Mrs. Corazon Aquino as President and Mr. Salvador Laurel as Vice President of the Philippines.

I am pleased, Mr. President, to respectfully submit to you today the final report of the Observer Delegation, as requested in your initial instructions. This report was prepared by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and The Center for Democracy of Boston University.

Sincerely,

RICHARD G. LUGAR, *Chairman.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On behalf of the United States Observer Delegation, the drafters wish to thank the many Filipinos and Americans whose insights contributed to this report. President Ronald Reagan's decision to send Senator Richard G. Lugar and Congressman John P. Murtha to lead a bipartisan U.S. observer delegation to the February 7, 1986 presidential election in the Philippines allowed the American people to express timely concern for the integrity of the democratic process in that country.

Many individual Filipinos assisted the Delegation in its work. We wish to thank especially Jose Concepcion, Jr., Vicente Jaime, Christian Monsod, Brother Rolando Dizon, Cesar Buenaventura and their fellow colleagues in the leadership of the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). We also wish to thank the commissioners of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) for their comments and courtesy. Commissioner Ramon H. Felipe, Jr., the acting chairman of COMELEC, deserves special appreciation for his candor at a time when candor jeopardized his life.

In the Philippines, members of the Delegation were graciously received by many Filipino leaders and citizens. We wish to acknowledge especially the time given to the Delegation in its two visits by President Corazon C. Aquino and leaders of the *Pilipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan* [PDP-LABAN], including Minister of Finance Jaime Ongpin and Minister of Local Government Aquilino Pimentel; by Vice President Salvador H. Laurel and leaders of his *United Nationalist Democratic Organization* [UNIDO]; by Jamie Cardinal Sin, Archbishop of Manila; and by former President Ferdinand E. Marcos and leaders of his *Kilusang Lipunan Bagong* party [KBL], including former Batasang Pamabansa (national legislature) Speaker Nicanor Yniguez, former Minister of Labor Blas F. Ople, and former Counsel to President Marcos, Ronaldo Zamora.

Others who assisted the Delegation included members of the initial Center for Democracy delegation, which conducted a study of electoral preparations for the Committee on Foreign Relations, and members of the Democratic and Republican National Institutes for International Affairs which coordinated the international observer mission to the election. Without the assistance and good counsel provided by Ambassador Stephen Bosworth and the officers and staff of the American Embassy and consulates in the Philippines, the Delegation's task could not have been fulfilled.

The drafters of this report, notwithstanding this advice and assistance, are solely responsible for the views expressed and for any errors of fact.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE U.S. OBSERVER DELEGATION

The official bipartisan United States Observer Delegation to the February 7, 1986 presidential and vice presidential election in the Philippines, led by Senator Richard G. Lugar (R-IN) and Congressman John P. Murtha (D-PA), was designated by President Ronald Reagan at the request of then President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

The Delegation included 18 Members in addition to the Co-Chairmen: Senator Thad Cochran (R-MS); Senator John F. Kerry (D-MA); Senator Frank H. Murkowski (R-AK); Congressman Bernard Dwyer (D-NJ); Congressman Jerry Lewis (R-CA); Congressman Robert Livingston (R-LA); Congressman Samuel S. Stratton (D-NY); Fred F. Fielding, counsel to the President; Admiral Robert L.J. Long, USN (ret.), former U.S. commander-in-chief, Pacific, 1979–83; Jack Brier, secretary of state of the state of Kansas; Natalie Meyer, secretary of state of the state of Colorado; Norma Paulus, former secretary of state of the state of Oregon; Bishop Adam J. Mida, Green Bay, Wisconsin; Larry Niksch, Congressional Research Service; Van Smith, former president, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; Ben J. Wattenberg, co-editor, *Public Opinion;* Mortimer Zuckerman, chairman, *U.S. News and World Report;* and, Allen Weinstein, president, The Center for Democracy.

B. ELECTION OBSERVING ACTIVITIES

The Delegation left Andrews Air Force Base on February 5, 1986, arriving at Manila on February 6, and returned to Washington on February 10. The members of the Delegation traveled throughout the archipelago to observe actual voting at the precinct level and the tabulation of votes. The Delegation's full schedule is listed at Exhibit A.

Upon arrival in Manila on February 6, the U.S. Observer Delegation received extensive briefings at the American Embassy. On election day, February 7, 1986, the Delegation divided into eight groups to travel to locations on Luzon, Mindanao and the Visayan islands to watch the balloting and initial vote canvassing. The Commission on Elections' previously announced ban on international observers entering polling places was waived for the U.S. Observer Delegation. This allowed its members virtually unrestricted access to the voting process at the precinct level.

C. STATEMENT OF THE U.S. OBSERVER DELEGATION

Members of the Delegation regrouped in Manila after election day to review their individual observations. Some found in progress a relatively honest and credible pattern of voting in areas which they visited. Others expressed dismay at incidents which they either had witnessed or had learned of through credible reports by U.S. Embassy and international observers as well as by the international media. Such personal observations and widespread reports of election fraud, violence and irregularities, in the view of many on the Delegation, brought into question at an early stage the election's overall fairness.

After much discussion, the Delegation issued a statement which attempted to reflect the range of internal perspectives. It concluded: "We have observed the passionate commitment of Filipinos to democracy, and we applaud that commitment . . . Sadly, however, we have witnessed and heard disturbing reports of efforts to undermine the integrity of that process, both during the voting and vote counting process which is still underway." The Delegation stated that it would pursue the monitoring of vote tabulation then in progress until its conclusion: "Our mission as observers . . . continues." (Exhibit B.)

D. THE SECOND OBSERVER MISSION

At the time the delegation left the Philippines, on February 10, the electoral result remained in dispute. Both Ferdinand Marcos and Corazon Aquino claimed victory. Partial tallies at a "quick count" [1] center sponsored by the Marcos-appointed Commission on Elections [COMELEC], after initially showing Aquino ahead, had him holding a 55–45 percent lead, while a "quick count" operation sponsored by the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections [NAMFREL] showed Mrs. Aquino leading by a comparable margin. (Although both counts were supposedly to be based entirely upon tabulation of precinct returns signed by election registrars and representatives of both candidates, it later turned out that only NAMFREL's count met this essential standard, as we will discuss later in the report.) Confusion and uncertainty surrounded the outcome of the election as both candidates claimed victory and as the Batasang Pambansa [2] had not begun an official canvass of votes. It was evident that the election did not end on February 7, especially in light of growing evidence of massive vote fraud perpetrated by the ruling KBL.

In recognition of the need for continued monitoring, within forty-eight hours after the group returned on February 12, the White House announced on February 14 that Professor Allen Weinstein would return to the Philippines with a bipartisan staff on behalf of the Delegation to complete the observation process. (Exhibit C.) This second observer mission remained in the Philippines through Thursday, February 20, 1986. Its members collected documents on the conduct of the election from the principal government agencies, citizens organizations, and political parties involved. The Delegation also met with government and civic leaders, including former President Ferdinand E. Marcos, presidential-claimant Corazon C. Aquino, the commissioners of COMELEC and of its principal citizens' arms, NAMFREL.

The Delegation also benefited from information accumulated by other U.S. and foreign observers of the election, including the following:

---

[1] "Quick count" is the term applied to computerized advance vote tabulation based on individual signed precinct returns transmitted via telex to a computer tabulation center. Under Philippine law, "quick counts" do not serve as official tallies but rather are intended either to show voting trends or to provide tabulations against which the accuracy of officially announced results may be compared.

[2] Filipino language for "National Assembly"; short form: Batasan.

—The Democratic National Institute for International Affairs/ Republican National Institute for International Affairs' international observer mission, which maintained a presence in the Philippines before, during, and after the balloting. The two Institute groups, which included international government figures, American observers and members of their staffs, later summarized their findings as part of an extensive report on the election. (Exhibit D.)

—The American Embassy in Manila, which sent dozens of its staff throughout the country on election day to monitor the proceedings. The Embassy's election observers submitted over two hundred detailed reports on election procedures and irregularities which were distilled into a single document. (Exhibit E.)

—The international press corps which provided extensive coverage of the election, with hundreds of reporters observing election day and post-election activities. Most notably, perhaps, CBS Television conducted an experimental exit poll of voters throughout the Philippines on election day.

II. Views of the Election: The Internal Philippines Debate

The post-electoral turmoil encountered by the observer delegation was the subject of intense debate between the government KBL and opposition parties. On February 15, 1986, the legislature or Batasang Pambansa, which had a solid KBL majority, officially proclaimed Ferdinand E. Marcos and Arturo M. Tolentino to be the duly elected president and vice president of the Philippines. The Batasan's proclamation touched off a storm. Opposition candidates Aquino and Laurel publicly proclaimed themselves as duly-elected and announced a campaign of nonviolent protest aimed at removing President Marcos.

Because of the complexity of the situation under observation and in fairness to all parties concerned, the Delegation believes it helpful at this point in its report to summarize the factual claims made by major actors in the February 7 presidential election: the Marcos government (KBL), the Aquino opposition coalition (UNIDO/PDP-LABAN), COMELEC, and NAMFREL.

A. THE GOVERNMENT/KBL PARTY

Members of the government and leaders of the ruling KBL party insisted before, during and immediately after the February 7 election that preparations for the election and the conduct of the voting and vote tabulation occurred in strict compliance with the country's Electoral Code and Constitution. Moreover, government and KBL leaders praised the work of COMELEC, the officially appointed election oversight body.

Government and KBL officials denied allegations of vote buying and intimidation on the part of KBL partisans. In their view, if such incidents occurred, they were isolated and unimportant, without impact on the overall voting tally. Following the election, government and KBL leaders expressed the opinion that despite minor problems, the polling, COMELEC "quick count" and the official canvass of votes conducted by the Batasang Pambansa represented

a fair, accurate and credible exercise of the democratic process. (One government minister did tell the delegation that over one million Filipinos were disenfranchised because of election irregularities, but he argued that these votes would have been cast evenly between the two candidates and hence did not affect the result.)

Members of the government and of the KBL universally criticized the conduct of NAMFREL volunteers on election day. In conversation, they suggested that NAMFREL acted in collusion with the opposition to crowd polling places, interfering with the authority of local COMELEC officials. The government and KBL party also patently rejected opposition claims that the Aquino-Laurel ticket won the election.

On February 18, 1986, the second observer delegation met with President Marcos at his request to discuss the election. President Marcos charged that the opposition had engaged in widespread vote fraud. He stated that he intended to establish a special tribunal to examine these violations and to prosecute those responsible. However, he struck a conciliatory note, indicating that the opposition would be given an opportunity to bring similar cases before this tribunal. Other members of the government and KBL shared President Marcos' anger and supported this idea, particularly with regard to charges against NAMFREL.

Following the Batasan's proclamation, government and KBL officials criticized the opposition members' walk-out and decision to boycott the proceedings. They emphasized, at the same time, plans to create a Council of State involving the opposition. Ronaldo Zamora, an adviser to President Marcos, and other key KBL figures underscored the importance of forming such a Council of State. Zamora assured the second observer delegation that the opposition would have its voice in the new Marcos government.

B. COMELEC (MAJORITY)

The second observer delegation met twice with the commissioners of COMELEC. In these meetings, the commissioners reiterated their assertion of COMELEC's integrity and nonpartisanship as well as its compliance with Philippine law. The commissioners stated that only Commissioner Ramon H. Felipe, Jr. was partisan. They referred to Commissioner Felipe as "their" (i.e. the opposition UNIDO party's) representative at COMELEC. These statements were not made in the presence of Commissioner Felipe.

COMELEC Chairman Victorino Savellano stated that, with the exception of isolated incidents, candidates of both parties had been free to campaign without harassment, and that voters had been free to cast ballots on election day. He estimated that procedural problems with the vote occurred in only 1 percent of the country's 86,036 precincts.

The commissioners charged, however, that NAMFREL had violated the February 4 agreement it signed with COMELEC. Chairman Savellano ascribed this in part to overenthusiasm by NAMFREL volunteers but charged that NAMFREL's leadership instructed its volunteers in training seminars to "swarm" the polls on behalf of the opposition. The chairman further charged that NAMFREL volunteers, who were mandated under the agreement

with COMELEC under a complex procedure to transmit the signed precinct tally sheets both to COMELEC and NAMFREL headquarters for tabulation, reneged generally on that agreement. Instead, stated COMELEC, the tally sheets were sent largely to NAMFREL's own "quick count" center in Manila but not to COMELEC.

The bulk of the COMELEC commissioners' time with the Delegation was spent defending itself against election fraud charges and attempting to discredit NAMFREL.

C. COMELEC (DISSENTING VIEW)

The second observer group met separately with Commissioner Ramon H. Felipe, Jr. at his request. Commissioner Felipe stated that the February 7, 1986 election was "the dirtiest, most fraudulent election I have ever participated in." Commissioner Felipe gave the Delegation a detailed account of his experiences during the election which appear in this report. When asked if the other commissioners of COMELEC were non-partisan, commissioner Felipe replied: "They say they are for the President. They talk about it."

After Mrs. Aquino came to power, during a personal visit by the authors of this report to Manila to collect additional information and material bearing on the election, Commissioner Felipe provided us with a large number of documents reflecting complaints to COMELEC by opposition candidates and by its own officials during the pre-election, election, and post election period. These documents detailed specific allegations of KBL or government-directed fraud, violence, intimidation and irregularities. Although we had requested such materials from the other COMELEC commissioners on our previous visit, we had been led to believe that no such body of complaints about widespread electoral abuse existed, either in telexes or letters. Although commissioner Felipe had described such episodes to us on our previous visits, both his obligations to the then-commission majority and evident threats made against his life inhibited full disclosure at the time.

Commissioner Felipe informed us that COMELEC may not have in its possession or access to, as required by law, the second copy of the official precinct tally sheets, signed by government and opposition representatives on the Board of Election Inspectors. These original signed precinct tally sheets are critical to any independent or internal audit of election results. Local registrars were required to send this copy to COMELEC headquarters in Manila after voting concluded under seal. The Delegation was unable to determine whether these copies remain intact and under COMELEC control.

D. OPPOSITION/UNIDO–PDP–LABAN

The second observer delegation held separate meetings with leaders of the UNIDO and PDP-LABAN parties. The leaders of both parties had predicted before the election that large-scale fraud would be perpetrated by the ruling KBL party. However, opposition leaders held out the hope that, with the opposition ticket united, it could still attract a sufficiently large number of voters to overcome any cheating.

UNIDO representatives told the Delegation that during the provincial and municipal canvassing of votes, KBL representatives and COMELEC registrars ignored opposition protests of numerous irregular and obviously falsified election returns and, in some cases, excluded its representatives from these proceedings. UNIDO repeated its protests in the Batasang Pambansa when these same falsified returns were included in the final tally which led to the proclamation of Ferdinand Marcos and Arturo Tolentino as president and vice president.

The opposition maintained that, despite the government's concerted effort to steal the election, Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel still attracted enough votes to win. The UNIDO and PDP-LABAN parties announced that their candidates had won the election. On February 16, Mrs. Aquino called a massive rally at the waterfront Rizal Park plaza. Before a crowd estimated by observers at half a million, Mrs. Aquino proclaimed herself and Mr. Laurel as the duly-elected president and vice president of the Philippines. Aquino and Laurel also launched a plan for sustained non-violent protest and a general boycott of products produced by companies controlled by close associates of Mr. Marcos popularly known as "cronies."

UNIDO and PDP-LABAN leaders, moreover, denied allegations that they had engaged in vote-buying and other fraudulent activity on behalf of the Aquino Laurel ticket. They explained, persuasively in our view, that the total UNIDO campaign budget would not have allowed for the massive vote-buying necessary to account for the opposition's strong showing in the election. In addition, they noted that in order to alter or falsify precinct returns or provincial Certificates of Canvass, a party would need the cooperation of local and provincial officials, COMELEC officials, the military and constabulary as well as money and logistical support. With few exceptions, power in the Philippines at all these levels was controlled by the ruling KBL party. UNIDO stated that through KBL control of local and provincial government, the military and constabulary, and the judicial system, the government enjoyed immunity from prosecution for electoral offenses, while the opposition faced the full force of the law for even attempting such fraud.

Groups of armed or unarmed men (in the Philippines, commonly referred to as "goons") threatened and intimidated voters, NAMFREL volunteers, and election or party officials during the election. It is the Delegation's impression that the KBL overwhelmingly had the power and latitude to organize such groups at the local level throughout the Philippines.

E. NAMFREL (CITIZENS' ARM OF COMELEC)

The second observer delegation met twice with leaders of NAMFREL. The first meeting was held at the NAMFREL Operation Quick Count Center to review NAMFREL's tallies and methods. A second meeting was held at the home of NAMFREL Chairman Jose Concepcion, Jr.

At our last meeting, the leaders of NAMFREL pointed out that there were local areas where their poll watchers had worked harmoniously with COMELEC officials. Nevertheless, NAMFREL's di-

rectors made it clear that their dealings with the commissioners of COMELEC had been marked by foot-draging, and at times, outright deception by the commissioners.

NAMFREL noted that, although it sought an agreement on running its "quick count" process from the moment the snap election had been called in November 1985, COMELEC stalled until finally agreeing to a complex three-stage vote transmittal process with NAMFREL only three days before the election. (NAMFREL's similar "quick count" during the 1984 legislative elections was widely credited with reducing vote fraud and, in the process, the overall margin of the government majority in the Batasan). Nevertheless, NAMFREL noted that COMELEC as late as election day violated terms of the February 4, 1986 agreement in its instructions to local COMELEC officials regarding their dealings with NAMFREL.

In the field, NAMFREL asserted that its volunteers were harassed by KBL "goons," and that local chapters of NAMFREL had lost their accreditation or were otherwise excluded from polling places on the orders either of KBL officials or local COMELEC officials only days before the election or on election day itself. Despite such harassment, NAMFREL's leaders stated that they had made a good faith effort to abide by the agreements signed with COMELEC.

Although some of its volunteers may have acted in a partisan or inappropriate manner—"we are not infallible," one NAMFREL director told us—NAMFREL's leaders vigorously denied that they instructed volunteers to crowd polling places or to harass voting in any manner, as charged by KBL leaders and the commissioners of COMELEC. They stated that they had followed "safeguards and criteria" set out before the election. They further stated that, in complying with the terms of their agreement with COMELEC, only one NAMFREL volunteer was present in a polling place at a time, something which Delegation observers confirmed in their own monitoring process.

III. Executive Summary

Throughout the observer process, initiated at the explicit request of former President Ferdinand E. Marcos, the Delegation closely followed its mandate to gather information on the conduct of the February 7, 1986 election in a nonpartisan manner, avoiding any interference in the election itself. In the process, however, the Delegation collected an archive of first hand observations, recorded remarks and documents which detail the conduct of that election. The revolt of February 22-25, 1986 which led to the installation of Corazon C. Aquino and Salvador H. Laurel as president and vice president of the Philippines has rendered our findings less timely perhaps but no less relevant.

After a careful review of the Delegation's archive, including statistical and signed documentation, interviews with the principal candidates and their advisers and extensive meetings with officials of COMELEC and NAMFREL, we reached the following conclusions:

—Substantial irregularities occurred in the conduct of the February 7, 1986 Philippine presidential and vice presidential elec-

tion, to the extent that the proclamation by the Batasang Pambansa of Ferdinand Marcos and Arturo Tolentino as the duly-elected president and vice president of the Republic of the Philippines must be considered questionable and not a reflection of the voting will of the majority of the Filipino people;

—After reviewing the reliability of available statistical data, the Delegation concludes that the opposition ticket of Aquino-Laurel won a majority of votes honestly cast;

—The electoral process was marred by government sponsored or supported fraud, violence, and administrative incompetence at every level, including, but not limited to:

—irregularities in the handling of voter registration by ineptitude and design;

—harassment and violence against campaign workers;

—intimidation of voters and poll workers prior to and during the election;

—deliberate manipulation of tally results;

—falsification of provincial/municipal certificates of canvass;

—manipulation of government funds for partisan purposes;

—and, a general disregard for the provisions of the Philippine Omnibus Electoral Code (Batas BLG 881);

—The vast majority of electoral and statutory offenses were perpetrated by officials of the Philippine government, members of the ruling *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* party (KBL) and their employees and supporters, resulting in a generalized abuse of vested legal, budgetary, military and constabulary authority;

—Nonetheless, millions of patriotic and concerned Filipino citizens exercised their right to vote and faithfully guarded the integrity of the electoral process, including hundreds of thousands of local election officials and NAMFREL volunteers who executed their duties fairly and properly, thereby legitimizing support for a democratic process in the face of attempts to corrupt the results.

The Delegation has based its observations and findings on materials and information provided by all sides involved in the electoral process, pursuing its work without bias for or against either presidential candidate in the February 7 election. Its primary commitment has been to strengthening the democratic process itself as defined by Filipinos within the framework of their own electoral and constitutional traditions.

The degree to which electoral fraud was *centrally* rather than *locally* directed by members of the government and leaders of the KBL has been almost impossible for the Delegation to document. Available documents and interviews conducted by members of the Delegation reveal, however, one clear pattern. Local leaders and partisans of the KBL throughout the Philippines, whether acting on their own authority or in response to orders from Manila, interfered in the electoral process and attempted to ensure a Marcos victory by whatever means.

After reviewing statistical data provided to the delegation by COMELEC, NAMFREL and the Batasan canvass, and taking into consideration the overwhelming evidence of vote-buying, intimidation,

falsified returns and other irregularities sponsored by members of the government and the KBL, and Delegation concludes that the election was won by the UNIDO/PDP-LABAN ticket of Aquino and Laurel.

IV. Conduct of the Election

This section describes in greater detail the documentation on which the Delegation's conclusions are based.

A. COMELEC-NAMFREL DISPUTES

COMELEC, as part of its duties outlined in the Electoral Code, appointed several "citizens arms" to aid it in monitoring election day activities. COMELEC designated four such organizations: MOVER, accredited nationwide; the Integrated Bar of the Philippines, accredited to be watchers at 140 vote-canvassing centers; the Civic Assembly of Women in the Philippines, accredited locally; and, NAMFREL, accredited nationwide.

By all accounts, including those of the Marcos government, NAMFREL was the only citizens arm to mount an effective national poll watching organization. The other groups proved only locally important or totally ineffective. NAMFREL fielded an estimated 500,000 volunteers on election day. NAMFREL, according to its directors, was able to station volunteer watchers in some 80 percent of the country's 86,036 precincts.

The commissioners of COMELEC stated in meetings with the Delegation that they had accredited groups in addition to NAMFREL in order to assure the widest possible staffing of the polls by citizen volunteers. Individually, however, the commissioners made no secret of their strong belief that NAMFREL was partisan in its support for the opposition. Leaders of NAMFREL, in turn, indicated their belief that COMELEC accredited pro-KBL groups such as (reportedly) the Integrated Bar of the Philippines in order to influence the activities of poll watchers to hinder NAMFREL's national organizing efforts.

NAMFREL was created by a coalition of civic organizations as a non-partisan grassroots organization to guard the integrity of the ballot. Some of NAMFREL's leaders and key organizers made little effort to hide their sympathy for the opposition, though they insisted upon their ability to function within NAMFREL in a nonpartisan manner. They noted, by way of analogy, the manner in which both Republicans and Democrats in the United States operate within nonpartisan organizations such as the League of Women Voters and as individual, honest pollwatchers.

President Marcos, for his part, provided the Delegation with an archive of affidavits on electoral abuses supposedly perpetrated by the opposition, an archive which reflected KBL perspectives but was substantially prepared by the "nonpartisan" commissioners of COMELEC. The thrust of the material was an argument that NAMFREL volunteers campaigned for the Aquino ticket. The Marcos documents offered almost no credible evidence to sustain this allegation, however, and some of its major illustrative materials were patently unpersuasive. (Exhibit F.) The Delegation found no evidence to sustain the charge that the bulk of NAMFREL vol-

unteers performed their duties prior to, during, and after election day in other than an independent and nonpartisan manner.

The saga of COMELEC's relations with NAMFREL throughout the "snap" presidential election period is a tale of continual harassment and duplicity on the part of the COMELEC commissioners' pro-Marcos majority toward NAMFREL's efforts to construct, practically overnight, a viable nationwide electoral monitoring process in time for the February 7 balloting.

At the time The Center for Democracy's delegation of election lawyers visited the Philippines in December 1985, NAMFREL had not yet been accredited. Although there were assurances from both the COMELEC majority and President Marcos that this would occur shortly, it was not until after the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held public hearings on the Center's report, which urged NAMFREL's accredidation as basic to any fair and credible election, that COMELEC acted, presumably upon presidential instructions.

Even then, NAMFREL was threatened with a COMELEC requirement that it register for individual review every one of its volunteers. Apart from the administrative burden, this provision would have subjected such individuals to the prospect of intimidation by government officials in their areas. Days before the election, this requirement was abandoned but not before COMELEC had threatened throughout December and January to impose it. Again, a focus on this problem by the U.S. Congress, State Department and American media may have been decisive in constraining COMELEC.

When the Center's delegation visited Manila in December, COMELEC insisted that its members participate in what turned out to be a media-event. The commissioners announced to the country's media a new "Operation Super Quick Count" to be run by a group of private Philippine computer technicians hired by COMELEC. The plan envisioned using 300 computer stations to be created throughout the country's 7,100 islands which would collect precinct voting returns for transmission to a central computer operation in Manila. Despite elaborate charts displayed that day to the media and to the Center delegation, it emerged weeks later that no funds had been authorized by the Marcos government to purchase computers for the 300 centers, train operators, and prepare electoral officials. The elaborate COMELEC scheme existed only on paper and by mid-January was abandoned.

Also in December NAMFREL began to prepare for its own systematic nationwide "Operation Quick Count" independent of COMELEC's and based on its own similar "quick count" for the 1984 legislative elections. The NAMFREL directors briefed the Center for Democracy delegation on preparations already underway to put the proposal into effect. The COMELEC commissioners refused all requests by NAMFREL in December and early January to allow such an independent "quick count."

After COMELEC abandoned plans for its "Operation Super Quick Count," an initial meeting was held between the commissioners of COMELEC and NAMFREL leaders. COMELEC Commissioner Jaime C. Opinion warned that if NAMFREL refused to participate in a *joint* "quick count," COMELEC would withdraw its ac-

creditation, deny it access to telegraph facilities, and deny it access to a certified (fourth) copy of the precinct returns. The Jaycees, also accredited, attempted to set up an independent "quick count" but failed. When COMELEC engaged the National Computer Center, ten days before the election, to set up a COMELEC "quick count," Commissioner Opinion reportedly told NAMFREL leaders that if they wanted to participate, they were to send their computer operators to be interviewed by COMELEC. Finally, on February 4, three days before the election, COMELEC and NAMFREL signed an agreement to conduct a simultaneous, *parallel* "quick count" operation. (Exhibit G.)

The account provided by NAMFREL of its negotiations with COMELEC is essentially accurate. Independent documentation exists to verify NAMFREL's claim that COMELEC was duplicitous in its dealings and in fact actively worked to sabotage NAMFREL's efforts to conduct an independent "quick count" of precinct returns.

The most striking of COMELEC's actions against NAMFREL was the election day order by the Chairman of COMELEC sent by telegram to "all election registrars" informing them that, despite the agreement signed with NAMFREL only two days earlier, precinct returns were not to be transmitted to the Manila COMELEC/NAMFREL "quick count" centers using the Radio Communications of the Philippines company (RCPI) with whom NAMFREL had already conducted two trial runs. Instead, registrars were instructed by COMELEC to authorize the transmission of precinct returns only through the government-owned Philippines Telephone and Telegraph company (PT&T) and only if accompanied by a COMELEC representative:

> You are hereby directed to instruct NAMFREL representative under your jurisdiction to transmit the same tally form thru PT&T only. COMELEC representative must accompany delivery of result to PT&T only within your transmission period. (Signed) Chairman Victorino Savellano COMELEC. (Exhibit G.)

Under the order, NAMFREL volunteers were still authorized to carry the precinct returns to be transmitted. However, NAMFREL found in many cases that registrars were either absent, or refused to sign the precinct tally sheets, or refused to accompany the NAMFREL volunteers as was ordered by COMELEC.

COMELEC denied that it sent telegrams to *all* local registrars instructing them not to cooperate with NAMFREL's plan to transmit authenticated precinct tallies via the RCPI telegraph system. Chairman Savellano insisted that the telegrams were sent only to specific localities where a goverment-owned PT&T office is located and a RCPI office is absent. The telegram, however, appears to have been sent throughout the country to all registrars. It provoked extreme confusion and consternation among local and provincial COMELEC officials and NAMFREL volunteers having been dispatched on election day, February 7, 1986 at 3:15 p.m., 15 minutes after the polls closed, just as the precinct level vote counting was to begin.

B. EFFORTS TO REMOVE ACCREDITATION FROM NAMFREL

In addition to continued threats from COMELEC commissioners that it would lose its accreditation, NAMFREL faced sporadic but concerted efforts to de-accredit and harass its local chapters. NAMFREL estimated that its volunteers were denied a presence in 8,192 or ten percent of the country's precincts. It was unable to organize in another ten per cent of the 86,036 precincts because of its own internal administrative difficulties. (Exhibit H.)

Three documents, among others available, starkly illustrate the efforts by KBL and government officials to harass and de-accredit NAMFREL as election day approached. The first (Exhibit I), was issued by the COMELEC Office of the Election Registrar of San Carlos City in the province of Negros del Norte. The memorandum to "all board of inspectors," dated February 7, 1986, states that "the local chapter of NAMFREL has been found to be a *partisan one*, according to reliable information and its members are avid supporters of UNIDO, a dominant opposition party . . . the undersigned (Atty. Romeo T. Flora, Acting Election Registrar) hereby *revoked* the accreditation of the local NAMFREL, San Carlos City Chapter, Negros del Norte." (Emphasis in original.)

The second document was issued by Atty. Agustin S. Desyuno, the provincial election supervisor at Cadiz City, Negros del Norte. Dated February 6, 1986 and addressed to "The Board of Election Inspectors Victorias, Negros del Norte," the official document charges three NAMFREL leaders with campaigning in favor of UNIDO candidates. The document states: "Consequently, the NAMFREL representatives . . . appointed by them can also be considered partisan. WHEREFORE, effective today, February 6, 1986, NAMFREL Victorias Chapter accreditation is hereby *revoked*." (Exhibit I.) (Emphasis in original.)

The third document is an internal KBL memorandum dated January 27, 1986 from the governor of the province of Isabela, Faustino N. Dy, to KBL mayors, municipal authorities and partisans. The memorandum, titled "NAMFREL'S dangerous adventurism," (Exhibit I), accuses NAMFREL volunteers of having "committed acts of intimidation and terrorism" during the May 14, 1984 parliamentary elections. The balance of the memorandum details the strict provisions promulgated by COMELEC for the absolute non-partisanship of NAMFREL volunteers and prohibitions on NAMFREL being accredited more than one poll watcher per precinct. The memorandum concludes, "Outside of these instructions (the various COMELEC resolutions cited), the acts of the NAMFREL representatives are considered *ultra vires* and the same ought never to be respected or recognized, without prejudice to his possible criminal prosecution."

Note that the document reveals the highest ranking public official in the province of Isabela unilaterally calling on members and supporters of his party to scrutinize, and potentially to harass, citizens associated with the duly accredited citizens arm of COMELEC. In Isabela, NAMFREL was denied a presence in 37 municipalities, affecting a total of 1,238 precincts. This was the single largest denial of presence reported by NAMFREL. (Exhibit H.)

The Delegation can state flatly that, in the absence of NAMFREL volunteers, existing opposition poll watchers were more readily subject to harassment. Without the presence of NAMFREL, ordinary voters had no independent defense against fraud and manipulation of the balloting.

C. THE WALK OUT FROM THE COMELEC QUICK COUNT CENTER

On February 9, 1986, at 10:30 p.m., 30 computer programmers walked out of the Tabulation Section of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project Organization (NTPO) at the Philippine International Convention Center (PICC). The programmers staged the walk out to protest discrepancies between the tabulation results of their computer print outs and the entries made on the PICC tally board.

The NTPO was instituted eleven days before the February 7 election, after COMELEC scrapped its ill-fated attempt to institute "Operation Super Quick Count." The appointed head of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project was Dr. Pedro F. Baraoidan. Dr. Baraoidan was concurrently head of the National Computer Center (NCC). The second observer delegation met with Dr. Baraoidan on February 17. He stated that the National Computer Center "is attached to the Office of the President" and that he simultaneously held the rank of colonel in the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). He also stated that the computer programmers involved in the walk out were full time employees at the National Computer Center, some of whom had worked at the NCC for as long as ten years.

Another COMELEC commissioner explained to the observer delegation in a separate meeting on February 17 that Commissioner Jaime C. Opinion [3] had contracted Colonel Baraoidan personally, presenting Chairman Savellano with a prepared resolution authorizing Colonel Baraoidan to purchase equipment and hire staff. The resolution reportedly did not include a fixed budget. Commmissioner Felipe stated that he told the other commissioners he wished to study the resolution and submit his opinion in writing. Nevertheless, when Commissioner Felipe returned the following day January 29, 1985, COMELEC Resolution 1763 (dated January 28) had already been signed by the chairman and a press release issued on the retention of Colonel Baraoidan's services.

In meeting with the Delegation, the majority of COMELEC commissioners defended the National Computer's conduct of the COMELEC "quick count." They stated Colonel Baraoidan submitted the lowest "bid," hence his engagement, and carried out his mission honestly and competently. Chairman Savellano stressed, moreover, that there had been no deliberate slow down of the vote count by COMELEC as alleged by many observers at the time.

In a sworn statement, authenticated by Commissioner Quirino A. Marquinez's signature, Colonel Baraoidan himself described the events of February 9. He stated that "the walk out of the thirty programmers and technicians was pre-planned and premeditated

---

[3] COMELEC Commissioner Jaime C. Opinion often served as spokesman for COMELEC on television and in press meeting during the post-election period and seemed to be the commissioner most closely associated with leading officials of the Marcos government.

as evidenced by the unusual heckling [of] the COMELEC project personnel, the shouting of 'Cory! Cory!', and 'Walk-Out! Walk-Out!' and the fact that the group stood up simultaneously after a signal from Ms. Lina Kapunan. . . ." (Emphasis in original.) The delegation was later told that Ms. Kapunan's husband is a junior officer in the AFP and a member of the reform movement. After being taken to the Baclaran Redemptorist Church, the computer operators were reportedly given sanctuary and protected by reformist officers.

Colonel Baraoidan states in his affidavit that the discrepancies noted by the computer operators "could have been fully explained." His explanation follows:

> . . . the computer print out upon which the "walk out groups" is basing their charge of cheating . . . allowed only telexes of precinct level results [to be used] . . . The system likewise did not allow for the inclusion in the final tally, of telexes which summarize the results for a group of precincts . . . we requested the Chairman of the Commission on February 8, 1986 to allow us to proceed using such summary results . . . [i.e., "summaries" of *groups* of precincts, *not* based upon the individual signed precinct counts which are the only accurate basis of electoral tallies, and without any information provided on who had submitted the group summaries to COMELEC or when—*Delegation Comment*]. With the authorization by the Commission, we then implemented a new system whereby available summary telexes would be incorporated in the final tally at the tabulation board. We decided not to inform the system people or the tabulation group about the system . . . we added an intermediate step . . . we incorporated the summary telexes into the computer printout derived from the individual precincts inputs, prior to posting on the board. (Exhibit J.)

Both Colonel Baraoidan's affidavit and an accompanying Committee Report prepared by COMELEC (also at Exhibit K) note that the NTPO system was found to have ". . . 'bugs' or errors . . . during the early tabulations," that other errors "miscomputed the number of precincts" and that "data diskette errors kept cropping up." According to the COMELEC report, the computer operators who walked out of the PICC took with them program diskettes and passwords for the NTPO system. The system was paralyzed until February 10 and was eventually abandoned when the canvassing of votes began in the Batasang Pambansa.

Although Colonel Baraoidan is apparently correct in believing that the walk out was discussed in advance, rather than spontaneous, his statement nevertheless raises serious questions about the integrity of COMELEC's vote counting process, particularly once the Aquino majority became evident from precinct tallies both at NAMFREL and in its own earliest results.

Changing the programming directions for the computer system in mid-count was an assault upon the integrity of the vote counting process itself. Altering the basis of computation from individually-listed precinct returns, duly certified by all parties to the election, to summaries of groups of precincts about whose genesis or compilation Colonel Baraoidan's affidavit is silent, was a wholesale abuse of honest vote counting. Under the circumstances, whether or not the COMELEC computer operators phoned in advance to assure a friendly reception and sanctuary at the Baclaran Church, their walk out seems justifiable, in the Delegation's view, given the evident manipulation of vote counting by their superiors.

A question arises, inevitably, as to why COMELEC's NTPO computer system was so hastily and haphazardly created in the first

place, unless it was to serve the purpose of the government in shaping perceptions of the vote count both within the Philippines and abroad, especially on the question of which candidate had taken an early lead in the results.

By the admission of its own commissioners, COMELEC had no long range plans to install a computerized system for rapidly tabulating incoming precinct results, with the possible exception of the ill-fated "Operation Super Quick Count" in which several NTPO directors participated. According to Commissioner Ramon Felipe, several of his colleagues had even expressed the opinion that, if allowed, "NAMFREL will project an early lead for Cory [Mrs. Aquino] and therefore should not conduct a quick count." When President Marcos was initially presented with COMELEC's plan for a Super Quick Count to tabulate the entire country's vote in thirty-six hours, Commissioner Felipe added, Marcos reportedly replied: "Why so fast?" The entire COMELEC effort to mount *some* "quick count," therefore, strikes the Delegation as a form of damage control designed to minimize the impact of NAMFREL's pre-existing, more systematic, and more professional efforts.

As for the COMELEC count itself, Colonel Baraoidan's own admissions that he and his close associates injected summary results from unspecified sources—representing not individual precinct returns but alleged "groups" of precincts—was a blatant violation of COMELEC's agreement with NAMFREL on governing the "quick count" process. Since there existed no independent verification of the accuracy (or even the *existence*) of these "summaries" except in the calculations of government vote counters apparently intent upon adjusting actual results to useful ones, it is reasonable to conclude that the COMELEC "quick count" was unreliable.

D. DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF REGISTERED VOTERS

Both during the visit to the Philippines by the full U.S. observer delegation and during the smaller group's subsequent visit, the Delegation heard numerous charges that massive, systematic disenfranchisement of registered voters had occurred throughout the country, especially in Metropolitan Manila and other urban areas.

Opposition and NAMFREL leaders charged that government and COMELEC officials deliberately altered voting rolls in areas dominated by the opposition to exclude individual registered voters. Even some government officials recognized that massive disenfranchisement of voters had occurred. For example, Labor Minister Blas F. Ople, chosen by President Marcos to monitor the international observation process, estimated that one million voters were disenfranchised through the "gross administrative incompetence" of COMELEC. Minister Ople argued that disenfranchisement affected KBL and UNIDO supporters equally.

President Marcos charged that the opposition had orchestrated the exclusion of "one half of the 135,000 voters in Eastern Samar," an area in which he had expected greater support. Opposition leaders, on the other hand, asserted that millions had been disenfranchised in Metro Manila to hold down an expected Aquino landslide in the area and that other regions in which the Aquino-Laurel

ticket was highly popular had been the target of deliberate efforts by local registrars to exclude voters opposed to the Marcos regime.

The status of the final revision of voter lists to include new registrants, completed on January 15, 1986, is central to understanding the disenfranchisement issue. UNIDO representatives stated that, as the accredited dominant opposition party, they returned the voter registration lists to local COMELEC registrars immediately following the revision but did not receive their copies of the final voter registration lists until immediately before the election and hence could not adequately monitor the disenfranchisement of voters. UNIDO indicated that it had been "caught off-guard" by this late delivery of registration lists and that, in addition, in many cases registration lists were not posted at precincts as mandated by the Electoral Code. UNIDO cited the province of Camarines del Sur, for example, in which only 43 of 1,065 precincts reportedly had voter registration lists posted.

The commissioners of COMELEC insisted, however, that completed voters rolls were delivered by couriers weeks before the election and that election registrars at each precinct typed and posted the revised lists. The commissioners maintained that COMELEC used designated time on radio and television and space in newspapers to advise voters to check their names at polling places. Commissioner Felipe responded that the old, typed registration lists from the 1984 Batasan election "were never torn down" and remained posted until just before the February 7 election.

Commissioner Opinion stated that voters' names were stricken from the rolls for (a) having failed to register or re-register in 1984, (b) to submit photographs when registering for the February 7, 1986 election, or (c) for failure to vote in 1981 and 1984. Opposition leaders responded that voters could not be excluded for having failed to vote in either the 1981 and/or 1984 elections. While the Electoral Code requires that voters missing two consecutive elections be stricken from the rolls, an entirely new voter registration took place throughout the country prior to the 1984 election. Therefore, voters registered in 1984 could not legally be stricken from the rolls for having missed the 1981 and/or 1984 elections (Code § 123).

Whether local registrars acted on instructions from the COMELEC majority to exclude voters on erroneous grounds such as the above cannot be determined. COMELEC stated that it had received complaints prior to the election that voter registration lists were incomplete or contained names in excess of registered voters for specific localities. COMELEC admitted that "statistical improbabilities" existed in some voter registration lists and vowed to examine these. After the election, however, and despite the acknowledgement by leading Marcos government officials of widespread disenfranchisement, the COMELEC majority maintained an obstinate refusal to admit even that the problem existed: Commissioner Opinion stated flatly "There was no massive, systematic effort to disenfranchise voters."

A draft study prepared by NAMFREL and released in mid-February suggested, by contrast, that as many as three million voters were disenfranchised. This figure was derived by comparing the lower voter turnout for the February 7 election and turnouts for

the two preceeding elections against the frequency of incidents of disenfranchisement reported by NAMFREL volunteers nationally. (Exhibit K.) COMELEC Chairman Victorino Savellano countered that voter turn outs for presidential elections are consistently lower than for local or legislative elections. (Exhibit L.)

Chairman Savellano admitted that isolated problems with the voter registration lists stemmed from the reorganization of the voting rolls following the May, 1984 Batasang Pambansa elections. According to Commissioner Opinion, the system of assigning voters to individual precincts was altered in 1984 at the instance of the UNIDO party, through Commissioner Ramon Felipe. Previously, voters were assigned to polling stations by surname. Under the new regime, voters were assigned to polling stations geographically.

Commissioner Felipe suggested, however, that COMELEC, through local election registrars, had acted in concert with other local government officials to identify and exclude opposition voters from the voting rolls. According to Commissioner Felipe, NAMFREL filed a petition at COMELEC two days *prior* to the May 14, 1984 Batasan election objecting to assigning voters to precincts by surname. Following the Batasan election, precinct assignment by surname was changed to the geographical scheme. Commissioner Felipe stated that the process by which this reassignment occured was not documented and that some commissioners of COMELEC may have used this ruling as a pretext in a "concerted design to jumble up the names" on the voter lists distributed for the February 7 election.

A document submitted to the Delegation by NAMFREL partially illustrates the impact of disenfranchisement in Metro Manila. (Exhibit M) The report, submitted by Captain Urso D. Bello, NAMFREL chairman for Marikina, Metro Manila, lists voters "who were not able to vote in Barangay Parang . . . because their names cannot be found in the lists of registered voters in their respective precincts." The "transmittal letter" attached to the list continues: "Despite the fact that petitions were made by several of those named in the attached lists and a court order was obtained by them allowing them to vote, still they were not allowed to vote for the reason that it was already 3:00 p.m. in the afternoon, disregarding Section 190 of Article 17 of the Omnibus Election Code and the ruling of COMELEC Chairman Victorino A. Savellano." [4] The NAMFREL document contains the names and addresses of 206 disenfranchised voters.

The total extent of disenfranchisement and its impact on the results of the election is not easily determined. There is sufficient evidence to indicate, however, that certain areas with large concentrations of opposition voters, such as the middle-class neighborhoods of Metro Manila, experienced substantial disenfranchisement of registered voters. In addition, administrative snafus, either intentional or due to incompetence or both, prevented an even larger number of voters from casting their ballots. The Delegation wit-

[4] Section 190 provides that: "The casting of votes shall . . . end at three o'clock in the afternoon, except when there are voters within thirty meters in front of the polling place who have not yet cast their votes. . . ."

nessed long lines of voters in various towns throughout the country. Many of these voters complained that they were either unable to find the proper precinct in which to vote, or left voting stations without voting due to long delays. There was virtually no attention paid by COMELEC's commissioners either before or during the election to rectifying this evident problem.

E. PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTERFEIT BALLOTS

The use of counterfeit ballots was widely reported during the election. In most cases, these ballots appeared on election day, but there were also reports that irregular ballots were distributed prior to the election. In a letter to COMELEC Chairman Victorino Savellano dated January 30, 1986, UNIDO Executive Vice President Luis R. Villafuerte informed COMELEC of the existence of irregular ballots in the province of Camarines Sur.

The letter states that: "about six thousand (6,000) [ballots] were discovered to be manually printed." The letter further states: "The use of these ballots would be violative of the provisions of Sec. 191 of the Omnibus Electoral Code which considers ballots with separately printed serial numbers as spurious . . ." The annex to the letter lists the serial numbers of the ballots in question. (Exhibit N) The irregular ballots in question clearly came from COMELEC, implicating the electoral body in efforts to distribute them. The Delegation was unable to confirm whether COMELEC acted to recall illegal ballots.

A February 15, 1986 affidavit signed by a woman of the Pasig, Metro Manila NAMFREL chapter describes the circumstances under which she obtained a number of counterfeit ballots on election day. (Exhibit N) Lolita Noble Faraon described that on February 7, 1986 she approached "a suspicious looking man . . . who had been there peering into the precinct for about five minutes." According to her affidavit, when she approached the man he turned to flee. She states that she grabbed "a bunch of white pieces of paper" from his hand. The papers were "official" ballots with the names Marcos and Tolentino written on them. Upon inspection, the ballots were identified as counterfeit (see Exhibit N).

On both ballots the COMELEC seal is blurred, while on true ballots the seal is clearly printed. One ballot, however, lists the name of the municipality as "Pasig," while on true ballots the municipality was listed as "Pasig, Metro Manila." This ballot also bears the official COMELEC watermark: "komisyon ng halalan." The fact that this ballot bears the COMELEC watermark confirms that persons other than officials of COMELEC were either given access to or provided with watermarked paper.

The extent to which counterfeit ballots were printed and distributed, and the means by which this took place, cannot be documented. Nevertheless, it proved relatively simple for some members of the official United States Observer Delegation and members of the international observer group to obtain numerous samples of fake ballots in the midst of our travels. How critical a factor such improper ballots became in the election itself, however, is impossible to determine on existing evidence.

F. VOTE BUYING

Past Philippine elections have witnessed extensive efforts at vote buying, and the February 7 contest was no exception. Traditionally, votes have been "bought" with small sums of cash or gifts of food, and the extreme poverty of rural areas has made vote-buying a routine affair in a number of provinces.

E. Mark Braden, general counsel to the Republican National Committee and a member of the Republican Institute observer group, described the "massive organized vote buying" by government officials which he witnessed in Mindanao:

> Prices for votes ranged from 25 to 200 pesos. It was not sporadic activity, but carefully organized throughout all the areas which we visited. The primary method used was to make an initial payment to the voter the night before the election providing them with half the fee for the vote and a device to ensure that a vote bought did, in fact, stay bought. The device consisted of two parts, one part a carbonized paper, and the second piece appeared similar to an official ballot with the names Marcos and Tolentino printed on it. The voter would take this with him into the polling place, put the ballot on top of it, trace Marcos-Tolentino on the ballot and then return the carbonized sheet in return for the remainder of the payment. We observed this practice at virtually all of the locations we visited. (Exhibit O.)

A NAMFREL report on the conduct of the election in the province of Pangasinan, titled *"Vote-Buying, the Big Difference in Pangasinan,"* detailed the effect of vote-buying on the result of the election. The report states: "On the eve of the election, dole outs in forms of money and food were rampant in the major areas where KBL bigwings [sic] reside or control."

The report concludes: "Generally, the overall results of the elections in Panagasinan was greatly affected by massive vote-buying. The town of Malasiqui where it was expected to be the opposition bailiwick produced a big lead for the incumbent due to the reported dole-out money given to the town mayor. The results could have been different if not for vote-buying." The NAMFREL report is accompanied by a breakdown of votes cast in the province of Pangasinan. Among the listed towns is Santo Tomas where candidate Aquino garnered 0 votes to 4,631 for incumbent Marcos. (Exhibit O.)

The Delegation heard only one complaint about vote buying by the opposition. It came on our second visit from then-president Marcos himself, who charged UNIDO politicians with the practice. According to Mr. Marcos, UNIDO representatives were paying 100–150 pesos per vote. When asked what the going rate for buying votes was prior to this, he replied, "twenty-five pesos." President Marcos did not specify where this activity had taken place or by whom. Other allegations of vote buying against the opposition were similarly unsubstantiated.

G. FLYING VOTER ACTIVITY DURING THE ELECTION

"Flying voters" is the Filipino term for individuals or groups of people who travel or are brought from one polling place to another, casting multiple ballots, usually in collusion with local officials. Flying voter activity had been a problem in previous Philippine elections. Although civilians have often been employed as flying voters, draftees from the AFP traditionally have also been used. Members of the U.S. Observer Delegation saw, on election day, sev-

eral groups of young soldiers trucked with military escorts to vote. These soldiers were partially in uniform and some were armed.

Because the 7,100 islands of the Philippines stretch over 1,500 miles, soldiers assigned to active duty often are unable to return to their home towns and villages to vote. AFP Chief of Staff, General Fabian C. Ver, petitioned COMELEC for special dispensation to allow soldiers stationed away from their homes to vote in the February 7 election. COMELEC granted this dispensation through COMELEC Resolution 1768 dated February 5, 1986. The opposition parties challenged the COMELEC resolution in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court upheld the resolution but added the following restrictions, among others:

> (1) Each of such military voters must show proof of their being registered voters in the precinct of their respective places of legal residence;
>
> (2) They must show proof of their being on duty as deputies of the COMELEC assigned in the place where they wish to vote, and identify themselves by their serial number and their military unit;
>
> (3) They must not be in uniform;
>
> (4) They must not be carrying any firearms;
>
> (5) They must vote singly or individually and not in groups; * * * (Exhibit P.)

The groups of soldiers observed by the Delegation trucked to polling places and then lined up to vote in Manila and several other areas throughout election day violated all of these restrictions. Several members of the Delegation, including the Co-Chairmen, approached one such group of soldiers which immediately (and nervously) insisted that they were voting on proper orders from their superiors! From this experience and other reports given to the Delegation, it is evident that soldiers, and civilians as well, were used by the government in massive numbers as flying voters throughout the Philippines on election day. The exact impact of flying voter activity on the final results of the election can only be conjectured, but it must be reckoned as a factor in the Marcos-Tolentino vote totals.

H. VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION DURING THE ELECTION

Violence and intimidation against voters, campaign, workers, and election officials was the most disturbing part of the election. No accurate figures are available on the total number of killings, beatings and threats of violence which occurred during the campaign period and the election.

The most widely publicized election-related act of violence was the murder of the former governor of Antique province, Evilio B. Javier. Governor Javier, a popular opposition leader, was killed on February 11, 1986, reportedly by Philippine Constabulary (PC) forces allegedly directed by Batasan KBL Assistant Majority Leader Arturo F. Pacificador of Antique. Two PC officers were charged with the murder. Pacificador was Javier's long-time rival for power in Antique.

In a telegram sent to Commissioner Ramon H. Felipe on Feburary 6, five days before his murder, Governor Javier stated that he

was threatened in the town of Culasi, Antique, by "more than twenty soldiers brisling with Armalites." He reported that "Antique is teaming with unidentified armed men" and that MP "Pacificador campaigned in Culasi using military helicopter." The telegram concludes: "Have previously requested and am reiterating request for official action team from Manila. Repeat from Manila to be assigned to Antique and stay until election results are completed and brought to Manila. If this request is not granted, I am afraid the 1984 ambush massacre will be repeated and more." (Exhibit Q.) Governor Javier was referring to the slaying of several opposition leaders in Antique during the 1984 election. Charges were filed against MP Pacificador in February for these killings, and today he remains a fugitive. The COMELEC commissioners neither investigated nor otherwise acted upon Governor Javier's insistent complaints prior to his murder.

NAMFREL provided the Delegation with a partial listing of incidents of violence and intimidation against its volunteers The list includes 135 separate incidents of woundings, beatings, and harassment of NAMFREL volunteers, including two killings. (Exhibit R.) Specific backup evidence was offered to the Delegation on each case.

The UNIDO's national office monitoring election abuses also submitted an extensive amount of documentation to the Delegation describing alleged violence directed against opposition poll watchers and workers in various provinces (on election day, in Tarlac Province, the Delegation's Co-Chairman talked personally to one such UNIDO official who claimed to have been beaten up by government workers).

For his part, among the documents provided by President Marcos detailing complaints filed by the KBL are a series of 28 affidavits detailing incidents of harassment signed by KBL officials and campaign workers from the province of Sorsogon. Each affidavit is authenticated by the signature of Assistant Provincial Fiscal Honesto J. Borromeo. (Exhibit S.) However, the government did not allege a nationwide pattern of violence directed against its supported by Aquino workers comparable to the one of which opposition and NAMFREL workers complained. The government affidavits, moreover, are all similar in style, unspecific in nature, and usually cite "unidentified men" as the perpetrators.

There were a number of reports that after the Communist New People's Army's (NPA) public vow to boycott the election, the NPA engaged in acts of election-related violence and intimidation. President Marcos stated that Communist insurgents entered numerous rural villages and threatened to kill individuals who voted for the KBL ticket, and UNIDO representatives also complained at times about NPA violence.

A report from Las Navas, Northern Samar, signed by both the KBL and UNIDO representatives, states that precinct 31 was prevented from holding the election by the NPA. Seventeen other precincts had their ballot boxes snatched by unidentified armed men. (Exhibit T.) Resurreccion Z. Borra, regional election director for Region IX, Davao City reported that 13 precincts had ballot boxes snatched, election materials stolen or burned by "unidentified armed terrorists." Southern Mindanao is known to be heavily infil-

trated by the New People's Army. These actions affected 3,447 voters. (Exhibit T.)

Acts of violence and intimidation were scattered throughout the country. Available evidence indicates that although some supporters of the government were attacked, more NAMFREL and opposition workers were assaulted by government partisans throughout the country prior to and during the election. A combination of lawlessness, politically motivated attacks, and NPA terrorist acts contributed to a generalized climate of violence during the election.

I. THE BATASAN COUNT

After the failure of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project Organization (NTPO) "quick count" to complete its precinct level tally of votes, the Batasang Pambansa began its mandated official canvass of votes from provincial certificates of canvass, or election returns. On February 11, 1986, COMELEC promulgated Resolution 1774, which relinquished its authority over "all cases pertaining to or affecting the proceedings of the local boards of canvassers" to the Batasan. (Exhibit U.) The political effect of this resolution was to cede COMELEC's authority over the conduct of the election to the Batasan.

The Batasang Pambansa (in which the KBL held a 2 to 1 majority) completed its canvass of votes on February 15, 1986, and proclaimed Ferdinand Marcos and Arturo Tolentino as the certified winners of the February 7 election. (Exhibit V.) The minority UNIDO party participated in the canvass of votes and protested the counting of many provincial and city election returns on grounds of fraud and irregularities. Before the final vote, however, the UNIDO members walked out. Controlling the necessary votes, the ruling KBL party acted alone in issuing the proclamation. Batasan Speaker Nicanor Yniquez told the Delegation that UNIDO had taken part in the review of all election returns and expressed its complaints. Therefore, he said, the opposition's walk out was meaningless.

UNIDO provided the Delegation with photographs of improperly executed election returns. (Exhibit W.) The photographs show returns with unmatching corresponding envelope seals (UNIDO claims that seventy percent of the returns opened bore this anomaly); returns which do not bear election officials' signatures or thumb marks, as required; returns not bearing the signature of the UNIDO representative; and, COMELEC *copies* of returns, not originals, as required by law. One photograph purportedly shows a return reporting the following information: number of registered voters—379, number of persons who voted—244, number of ballots found in ballot box—472.

Because of many irregularities such as these, UNIDO leaders maintained that the Batasan's canvass of votes and proclamation were illegal. As evidence of deficiencies, UNIDO cited the fact that more votes were counted for president than for vice president. Under the provisions of the Electoral Code, a ballot which lists only the presidential candidate also registers a vote for the vice presidential candidate of the same party. The reverse does not apply. Therefore, to have a higher total vote count for the presiden-

tial candidates than for the vice presidential candidates would be statistically impossible.

Independent of the UNIDO complaints, the leaders of NAMFREL stated that various vote tabulations reported to the Batasan by the provincial Boards of Canvassers were in error. NAMFREL based this assertion on a comparison of the official tally with NAMFREL's Operation Quick Count tally. NAMFREL leaders stated that its tally represented accurate vote counts taken from the original COMELEC-approved NAMFREL Operation Quick Count precinct tally sheets duly signed by the COMELEC chairman of the Board of Election Inspectors and the KBL and UNIDO party representatives on the Board of Election Inspectors. NAMFREL leaders stated that only precinct tally sheets verified by these signatures were used in the NAMFREL Quick Count tally and noted correctly that such precinct tallies were the only valid indicators of actual voting.[5]

Close inspection of the Batasang Pambansa's vote counting by the authors of this report, a count detailed in the Batasan's proclamation (Resolution 799) of President Marcos' re-election, reveals gross inaccuracy and administrative incompetence (as in the case of COMELEC's "quick count") sufficient to substantially undermine its reliability. Although Exhibit X describes the problem in detail, the basic facts are these:

1. The Batasan's "official canvass" did not list the number of precincts which it tallied in 53 of the 138 provinces and cities that comprised the national canvass, despite the instruction clearly stated in the Electoral Code that this be done, a Code adopted by the Batasan itself only months earlier;

2. The Batasan's "official canvass" stated in its own final record that it had not counted 1,103 precincts in the fourteen voting regions of the Philippines. In addition, the Batasan's own "official canvass" shows it overcounting 161 precincts not officially listed, 137 of them in President Marcos' home province of Ilocos Norte, which provided him on February 7 with a majority of 189,897 to 718;

3. The Batasan's "official canvass" shows Corazon Aquino's vote significantly *under* counted in a number of provinces and cities when compared with even the *partial* returns provided by NAMFREL's "quick count" using actual precinct returns (Exhibit X), though the actual extent of undercounting may never be known;

4. Overall, 100 of the 138 provinces and towns being counted had their results certified as "official" by the Batasan without

---

[5] Section 15 of the Omnibus Electoral Code provides that certificates of canvass must be: "supported by a statement of votes by polling place, in quintuplicate by the use of carbon papers. . . . The five copies of the certificate of canvass must bear the signatures and thumbmarks of all the members of the board. Upon the completion of these certificates and statements, they shall be enclosed in envelopes furnished by the Commission and sealed, and immediately distributed as follows: the original copy shall be enclosed and sealed in the envelope directed to the Speaker of the Batasang Pambansa by the fastest possible means; the second copy shall be likewise enclosed and sealed in the envelope directed to the Commission; the third copy shall be retained by the provincial election supervisor, in the case of the provincial board of canvassers, and by the city election registrar, in the case of the city board of canvassers; and one copy each to the authorized representatives of the ruling party and the dominant opposition political party. Failure to comply with the requirements of this section shall constitute an election offense."

either having their precinct count verified or despite gaping ommissions or additions in that count.

Because of the Batasan KBL majority's violation of its own Electoral Code in declaring Ferdinand Marcos president and because of the improperly prepared election returns about which UNIDO members of the Batasan correctly complained, though without effect, the Delegation concludes that the "official canvass" of votes was conducted in plain and persistent violation of the provisions of the Electoral Code and therefore lacks credibility.

Two plausible reasons occur to the observer Delegation for the government's decision to move rapidly and proclaim an official result on February 15, 1986. First, the proclamation may have seemed useful to Ferdinand Marcos in advance of meeting President Reagan's Special Envoy Ambassador Philip Habib, who was about to arrive in Manila. Second, an expedited Batasan count may have seemed to the KBL—in the context of the general view within the Philippines and abroad that COMELEC's "quick count" had been discredited—the only remaining means of confronting the widely accepted NAMFREL "quick count," which showed Mrs. Aquino leading by a significant margin.

Although NAMFREL's tally accounted for only 73.8 percent of the country's precincts [6] from which it could obtain signed verifiable precinct results, their count stands as the only reliable indicator of genuine national voter preference in the Philippines' presidential election of February 7, 1986. The Delegation had ample opportunity to observe the careful checks and review of precinct returns by the directors of NAMFREL's "quick count" center. By comparison with COMELEC's efforts, which was discredited by admission of its own "quick count" director Colonel Baraoidan, or the Batasang Pambansa's "official canvass," which statistical examination demonstrates in its own figures was thoroughly flawed and partisan, the figures posted by NAMFREL stand as a model of vote gathering under extreme pressures both of time and circumstance. Based upon certified precinct counts, they remain, in the Delegation's view, the most complete and accurate set of national figures gathered after the presidential balloting.

It seems unlikely that better statistical data will emerge, considering the tampering already apparent in the presentation of "official" returns by provincial KBL officials to the Batasang Pambansa. Nor, considering confessions such as the one made by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile that he personally knew of the corrupt creation of 300,000 votes for the KBL ticket in his own province alone, are we likely to require more evidence to establish for most independent observers the truth of our overall conclusion: Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel received a majority of votes actually cast in the presidential election.

[6] The NAMFREL and COMELEC "quick count" tallies are listed at Exhibit Y.

EXHIBIT A

U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation Team Assignments

Team 1—Manila and Central/Southern Luzon

Senator Richard G Lugar	(R-IN) Delegation Chairman
Representative John P. Murtha.	(D-PA) Delegation Co-Chairman
Allen Weinstein	President, Center for Democracy
Charles N. Andreae	Administrative Assistant to Senator Lugar
John Plashal	Staff Aide to Representative Murtha

Team 2—Loag (Northern Luzon)

Representative Bernard Dwyer.	(D-NJ)
Norma Paulus	Former Secretary of State of the State of Oregon
James W. Dwyer	Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (H), Department of State

Team 3—Tarlac (Central Luzon)

Representative Robert Livingston.	(R-LA)
Mortimer Zuckerman	Chairman, *U.S. News & World Report*
John C. Monjo	Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (EAP), Department of State
George F. Allen	Minority Staff Assistant House Appropriations Committee

Team 4—Manila and the National Capitol Region

Senator Frank Murkowski	(R-AK)
Van Smith	Former President, U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Jack Brier	Secretary of State of the State of Kansas
Frederick Z. Brown	Professional Staff Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
John Moseman	Legislative Aide to Senator Murkowski

Team 5—Batangas (Southern Luzon)

Representative Samuel S. Stratton.	(D-NY)
Ben J. Wattenberg	Co-Editor, *Public Opinion* Magazine
Fred Fielding	Counsel to the President of the United States

Team 6—Tacloban (Eastern Visayas)

Senator Thad Cochran	(R-MS)
Natalie Meyer	Secretary of State of the State of Colorado
J. Rick Bock	Legislative Management Officer Department of State

Team 7—Cebu (Western Visayas)

Representative Jerry Lewis	(R-CA)
Bishop Adam J. Mida	Bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin
Larry Niksch	Specialist in Asian Affairs, Congressional Research Service

Team 8—Davao (Mindinao)

Senator John Kerry	(D-MA)
Admiral Robert L.J. Long, USN (ret.).	Former USCINCPAC 1979-83
S. Edward Fox	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs

EXHIBIT B

The following is the text of a statement issued in Manila on February 10, 1986 by the U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation to the February 7 Presidential Election in the Philippines. The statement was read by Senator Richard G. Lugar.

We have spent the past five days in the Philippines observing the presidential election process. President Marcos requested President Reagan to send an official delegation, after which President Reagan requested us, a bipartisan group of congressional leaders and private citizens, to observe the election.

Since arriving, we have met several times with the government's electoral officials of COMELEC and with the leaders of COMELEC's citizen arm, the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). During the voting itself and the early vote counting period, the delegation divided into eight teams, each headed by a member of Congress. The groups traveled throughout the Philippines, visiting dozens of villages, towns, and cities to observe voting and counting in hundreds of precincts. We talked to many participating citizens as well as election officials, representatives of the candidates, and local COMELEC and NAMFREL leaders.

We have observed the passionate commitment of Filipinos to democracy, and we applaud that commitment. In the weeks preceding the election, the people of the Philippines have been involved in a vigorous campaign characterized by lively debate, active campaigning throughout the country, and the mobilization of NAMFREL to monitor the election. The enormous crowds drawn by the candidates and the zeal displayed by the Filipino electorate would be the envy of politicians in our own country.

We saw thousands of people standing in line patiently, often for hours, waiting to vote. From northern Luzon to southern Mindanao, we have observed dedicated people, inspired and motivated by their faith in democracy. Moreover, we have seen concrete examples, both in voting and counting ballots, of success in the administration of the electoral process.

Sadly, however, we have witnessed and heard disturbing reports of efforts to undermine the integrity of that process, both during the voting and vote counting process which is still underway. Even within the last twenty-four hours, serious charges have been made in regard to the tabulation system.

The count is at a critical moment. We share the concern, expressed to us both by government election officials and citizen monitors, that the remainder of the COMELEC and NAMFREL Quick Count Operations proceed to a credible conclusion without further delay. We join all Filipinos of good will in deploring all incidents of election related violence and intimidation.

The process of counting and certifying the results of this election continues. Our mission as observers also continues.

We leave the Philippines today to deliver an interim report to President Reagan. Our final report will include information provided by those who will continue to observe on our behalf the remainder of the current electoral process. Our observation of this election is by no means completed. We have directed teams from the U.S. Embassy, congressional staff, and The Center for Democracy to monitor closely the efforts by COMELEC and NAMFREL to bring their electoral Quick Counts to a rapid and credible conclusion. We will be receiving and evaluating their findings for our final report. It is our hope that, in the days ahead, the current divergence between the two electoral Quick Count tallies will give way to a uniform electoral result that is broadly accepted in the Filipino people.

Each of us takes back to the United States individual memories and a common prayer. Our memories are those meetings with many Filipinos, meetings which have evidenced the strong and historic bonds of friendship between our peoples. Our prayer is that this election process will end soon with the people of the Philippines reconciled through the triumph of the democratic process.

UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL OBSERVER DELEGATION

Senator Richard G. Lugar	Chairman of the Delegation
Representative John P. Murtha.	Co-Chairman of the Delegation
Jack Brier	Secretary of State of the State of Kansas
Senator Thad Cochran	(R-MS)
Representative Bernard Dwyer.	(D-NJ)
Fred Fielding	Counsel to the President of the United States
Senator John F. Kerry	(D-MA)
Representative Jerry Lewis	(R-CA)
Representative Robert Livingston.	(R-LA)

Admiral Robert L.J. Long, USN (ret).	Former United States Commander-in-Chief, Pacific, 1979–83
Natalie Meyer	Secretary of State of the State of Colorado
Bishop Adam J. Mida	Bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin
Senator Frank Murkowski	(R-AK)
Larry Niksch	Specialist in Asian Affairs, Congressional Research Service
Norma Paulus	Former Secretary of State of the State of Oregon
Van Smith	Former President, United States Chamber of Commerce
Representative Samuel S. Stratton.	(D-NY)
Ben J. Wattenberg	Co-Editor, *Public Opinion* magazine
Allen Weinstein	President, The Center for Democracy
Mortimer Zuckerman	Chairman, *U.S. News and World Report*

EXHIBIT C

THE WHITE HOUSE,
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY,
Santa Barbara, California.

For Immediate Release—February 14, 1986

The White House announced that Professor Allen Weinstein, head of The Center for Democracy, and a member of the official U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation to the Philippines special election of February 7, is returning to that country to gather additional information for the Delegation's final report.

Professor Weinstein will be accompanied by Mr. Charles N. Andreae III, Administrative Assistant to Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind), Chairman of the Observer Delegation; Mr. Richard McCall, Legislative Assistant to Senator John F. Kerry (D-Mass), a member of the Observer Delegation; and Mr. Caleb C. McCarry, Director of International Programs, The Center for Democracy.

Professor Weinstein and his group leave for Manila today.

SECOND OBSERVER DELEGATION 2/15-2/20/86

Professor Allen Weinstein	Delegation Leader, President, The Center for Democracy
Charles N. Andreae III	Administrative Assistant to Senator Richard G. Lugar
Richard McCall	Special Assistant for Foreign Affairs to Senator John F. Kerry

Caleb C. McCarry	Director, International Programs, The Center for Democracy

LIST OF MEETINGS, SECOND OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE PHILIPPINES, 2/15/86–2/20/86

Saturday, February 15, 1986

21:40 Arrival at Manila International Airport

Sunday, February 16, 1986

07:30 Meeting with Embassy Staff: Update and Briefing
08:15 Attended Memorial Mass for Former Governor Javier of Antique at Ateneo de Manila
10:00 Meeting with Opposition Presidential Candidate Mrs. Corazon Aquino at Ateneo de Manila
11:00 Meeting with COMELEC Commissioners Savellano, Opinion, Marquinez, Ortiz, Guro and Layosa at COMELEC Headquarters
13:00 Lunch with NAMFREL leaders Concepcion, Buenaventura, Monsod and Br. Dizon at Manila Hotel
14:30 Meeting with NAMFREL Leaders and Staff at Greenhills Headquarters
16:30 View of Opposition Rally at Rizal Park from Manila Hotel
20:30 Dinner with Minister of Labor Blas F. Ople at Manila Hotel

Monday, February 17, 1986

09:45 Meeting with Jaime Ongpin, PDP-LABAN leaders at Benguet Center
11:00 Meeting with COMELEC Commissioners Savellano, Ortiz, Guro, Marquinez and Layosa at COMELEC Headquarters
12:30 Lunch with Batasang Pambansa Speaker Yniquez and Assistant to President Marcos Ronald Zamora at Manila Hotel
14:00 Separate Meeting with, Assistant to President Marcos, Ronald Zamora at Manila Hotel
15:30 Meeting with COMELEC Commissioner Ramon Felipe at Manila Hotel
17:15 Meeting with Opposition Presidential Candidate Mrs. Corazon Aquino at Conjuangco Building

Tuesday, February 18, 1986

08:30 Meeting with Director of COMELEC "Quick Count" Computer Operation Mr. Baraoidan, accompanied by Mr. Javier and Mr. Estrella at Manila Hotel
10:05 Meeting with President Ferdinad E. Marcos, and Foreign Minister Castro at Malacanang Palace
12:20 Depart Malacanang

LIST OF MEETINGS, SECOND OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE PHILIPPINES, 2/15/86-2/20/86—Continued

13:30 Allen Weinstein attended Rotary Club Meeting Addressed by Jose Concepcion of NAMFREL and Commissioner Felipe of COMELEC, Sheraton Hotel

14:30 Meeting with UNIDO leaders Senator Pimentel, Neptali Gonzalez, Jose Yap, Ramon Mitra, Ting Tanjuanco, Ernie Maceda and Lita Binayo at the Cojuangco Building

21:00 Meeting with Ambassador Philip Habib at Ambassador Bosworth's Residence

22:45 Meeting with NAMFREL leaders at Jose Concepcion's Residence

Wednesday, February 19, 1986

08:30 Meeting with, Assistant to President Marcos, Ronald Zamora at Manila Hotel

09:45 Telephone Conversation with COMELEC Chairman Savellano to Request Additional Commission on Elections Data

11:40 Allen Weinstein, Charles Andreae and Caleb McCarry Depart Manila International Airport

Richard McCall Remained in Manila for Separate Meetings, Departing on Thursday, February 20, 1986

EXHIBIT D

"A PATH TO DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL"

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

National Republican and National Democratic Institutes for International Affairs

The International Delegation which observed the February 7 presidential election in the Philippines was sponsored by the National Democratic and Republican Institutes for International Affairs and included forty-four individuals from nineteen countries. The co-leaders of the delegation were the former President of Colombia, the Honorable Misael Pastrana, and the Honorable John Hume, a member of the British and European Parliaments from Northern Ireland.

1. *The delegation concludes that the election of February 7 was not conducted in a free and fair manner.* It is our belief that the Government of Ferdinand Marcos and the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) bear the responsibility for this failure.

2. The delegation finds that the National Assembly, the Batasang Pambansa, ignored explicit provisions of the Philippine Electoral Code requiring that tampered or altered Election Returns be set aside during the final counting process—despite protests by representatives of the opposition party. For this reason, and because of

numerous other violations of the Code, *the delegation concludes that the February 15 Batasang proclamation naming Ferdinand Marcos and Arturo Tolentino the winners of the February 7 election was invalid.*

3. At the same time, we observed millions of Filipinos who were committed to making the electoral process work. Principally because of their commitment, the election succeeded in providing a vehicle through which the national will of the Philippines was ultimately expressed.

4. There is no single piece of "smoking-gun" evidence which leads to our determination that the election failed to meet a "free-and-fair" standard; there are instead many "smoking-guns." They include the following:

—The campaign period was marked by numerous violations of the provisions designed to curb improper campaign practices and to limit the Government's use of its power to influence the election;

—The Commission on Elections (COMELEC) did not carry out its responsibility under the election code to provide equal access to the television media during the campaign period. As a result, Marcos benefitted greatly from the partisan-owned and influenced television and radio media, though the opposition had reasonable access to alternative (radio and print) media.

—COMELEC officials were unable or unwilling to deal with the problem of fraudulent registration. Safeguards designed to guard against double voting, including indelible ink applied to voters' fingers, were in many areas either ignored or unenforced. The combination of these two factors contributed to an undetermined amount of double voting.

—An estimated 3.5 million voters were disenfranchised on election day when they could not find their names on the voting register. This resulted in a voter turnout of only 76% in this important presidential election, as compared to 89% in the 1984 Batasang election. This is a major dropoff, especially considering the absence of a well-organized boycott for this election.

—Disenfranchisement appears to have occurred in opposition-oriented provinces or cities. For example, in the ten cities and provinces which had the highest voter turnout, the winner was the ruling party, while in the ten cities and provinces which had the lowest turnout, the opposition won in eight out of ten. Even more striking is that in the cities or provinces where the ruling party won by a margin of 150,000 votes or more, the turnout ranged between 82% and 96% of the vote. On the other hand, in areas where the opposition's margin of victory was greater than 50,000, the turnout ranged between 71 and 81 percent.

—Virtually all members of the delegation observed or were told by credible sources that voters were being paid on election day to vote for the Marcos-Tolentino ticket. In many areas, carbonized sample ballots were used as proof of an individual's vote and as a receipt for payments ranging between 25 to 500 pesos.

—Numerous instances of intimidation of voters were recorded by the delegation; members of the military, the Civil Home De-

fense Forces, and Barangay officials were commonly implicated.

—Pollwatchers from the designated opposition UNIDO party and the accredited citizen's arm, NAMFREL, were not permitted access to polling places in many provinces.

—Problems relating to the counting of votes occurred during all phases of the process. Major discrepancies between the count kept by NAMFREL—based on hard copies of precinct tally forms signed by all members of the Board of Election Inspectors—and COMELEC recurred throughout the week following the election, evidencing attempts to manipulate the vote count.

—Delegation members reported numerous instances wherein precincts recorded zero votes for Aquino despite the claim of the UNIDO pollwatchers present at the precinct that they voted for Aquino.

—Hard evidences was uncovered of "ghost" precincts, or fictional polling places, wherein the vote was completely fabricated. In one municipality of Southern Leyte, three such precincts were discovered over and above the 55 authorized. In the 55 legitimate precincts, the vote was 6,371 for Marcos and 5,876 for Aquino. In the three ghost precincts, the vote was 900 for Marcos and 9 for Aquino.

—While we have no direct evidence, we believe that the interference with the counting process which occurred after election day was not simply a dispute between COMELEC and NAMFREL over their "quick count" agreement; rather we believe this was part of an effort by the Government and its supporters to buy time so that the above mentioned fraud could be undertaken.

5. The above-listed violations were perpetrated by national and local officials who supported the Marcos-Tolentino ticket. While we cannot exclude the possibility, our delegation did not observe a single election code violation by supporters of the opposition party despite efforts undertaken to monitor their activities.

ANNEX I

National Republican and National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

DELEGATION CO-CHAIRMEN

John Hume: Leader, Social Democratic and Labour Party, Northern Ireland; Member, European Parliament; Member of Parliament, Westminister (NDI).

Misael Pastrana: Leader, Conservative Party, Colombia; Former President of Colombia; Vice Chairman of the International Democrat Union (NRIIA).

DELEGATION

J. Brian Atwood: Executive Director, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NDI).

Jerry Austin: President, Jerry Austin & Associates, Columbus, Ohio (NDI).

Manuel Ayau: Economist and Political Scientist, Guatemala; Founder and Rector, Universidad Francisco Marroquin, Guatemala City (NRIIA).

Elizabeth Bagley: Congressional Consultant, Center for National Policy, Washington, DC (NDI).

Smith Bagley: President, Araca Foundation and Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, Washington, DC (NDI).

Errol Barrow: Leader, Democratic Labour Party of Barbados; former Prime Minister of Barbados (NDI).

Tabib Bensoda: Parliamentary Secretary, People's Progressive Party of the Gambia; Member of Parliament (NDI).

Mark Braden: Legal Counsel, Republican National Committee, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

John Carbaugh: Attorney, Vance, Joyce, Carbaugh & Huang, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Glenn Cowan: President, Cowan and Associates, Washington, DC (NDI).

Curtis Cutter: President, Interworld Consultants, Washington, DC (NDI).

Rick Fisher: Policy Analyst, Asian Studies Center, the Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Larry Garber: Attorney; Director of the Election Observer Project, International Human Rights Law Group, Washington, DC (NDI).

Raymond Gastil: Director of "Comparative Survey of Freedom," Freedom House, New York (NRIIA).

Antonio Gomes de Pinho: Foreign Affairs Director, Centro Democratic Social Party, Portugal (NRIIA).

B.A. (Al) Graham: Member and former National President, Liberal Party of Canada; Member, Canadian Senate; Treasurer, Liberal International (NDI).

Guillermo Guevara: Christian Democratic Party of El Salvador; President of the National Assembly (NRIIA).

Robert Henderson: Program Director, National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Robert Hill: Senator; Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee, Liberal Party of Australia; State President for South Australia (NRIIA).

Patricia Keefer: Consultant, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NDI).

Martin Laseter: Director, Center for Asian Studies, the Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Dorothy Lightborne: Senator and Special Representative, Jamaica Labour Party (NRIIA).

John Loulis: Director, Center for Political Research and Information, Greece (NRIIA).

Lord George Mackie: President, Scottish Liberal Party, House of Lords, Scotland-UK (NDI).

Judy Norcross: Special Representative, Republican National Committee, Morristown, NJ (NRIIA).

Patrick O'Malley: Senior Policy Analyst, John W. McCormick Institute, University of Massachusetts, Boston, MA (NDI).

Juan Carlos Pastrana: Journalist; Special Representantive, Conservative Party of Colombia (NRIIA).

Howard Penniman: Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; international elections expert, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Jose Rodriquez Iturbe: International Secretary, COPEI of Venezuela (Christian Democrats); Federal Representative, Chamber of Deputies (NRIIA).

Peter Schram: President, Claremont Institute for the Study of Statesmanship and Political Philosophy, Claremont University, Claremont, CA (NRIIA).

Keith Schuette: Executive Director, National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Ronald Sebego: Member and Assistant Treasurer, Botswana Democratic Party, Member of Parliament (NDI).

Elaine Shocas: Counsel to the Treasurer, Democratic National Committee and to the American Federation of Teachers, Washington, DC (NDI).

David Steinberg: President, Long Island University, and author, *The Philippines: A Singular and A Plural Place*, Long Island, New York (NDI).

Bill Sweeney: President, Washington Resources and Strategy, Inc., Washington, DC (NDI).

Dennis Teti: Foreign Affairs Advisor to Cong. Jack Kemp, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

William Tucker: Consultant; former Office of White House Counsel, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Steven Wagner: Director of Administration, National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Kathleena Walther: Program Officer, National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Edward Weidenfeld: Attorney, former General Counsel to Reagan-Bush campaign, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

Curt Wiley: Director of Development, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NDI).

Sue Wood: President, National Party of New Zealand; Special Representative of International Democrat Union (NRIIA).

(Exhibit E)

MEMORANDUM

February 15, 1986

ASSESSMENT OF PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
U.S. EMBASSY - MANILA

1. OVERVIEW

WE ARE CONTINUING TO ASSESS THE PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

IN THE HIGHLY CHARGED POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE THAT EXISTS IN THE PHILIPPINES TODAY, THERE IS MUCH INFORMATION THAT IS EITHER HERESAY OR BOGUS. FOR THE PURPOSES OF OUR ASSESSEMENT, HOWEVER, WE HAVE INCLUDED ONLY THAT DATA IN WHICH WE HAVE CONSIDERABLE CONFIDENCE. AT THIS JUNCTURE, A NUMBER OF JUDGEMENTS CAN BE MADE WITH SOME CONFIDENCE.

--THE RULING KBL PARTY ENGAGED IN SUFFICIENT VIOLATIONS OF THE ELECTORAL CODE TO HAVE MADE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VICTORY AND DEFEAT.

--THERE WAS A NATIONWIDE EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE KBL TO DISENFRANCHISE AND INTIMIDATE VOTERS BEFORE ELECTION DAY--ESPECIALLY IN THOSE AREAS CONSIDERED OPPOSITION STRONGHOLDS. VOTE BUYING WAS EXTENSIVE, PERHAPS EVEN EXCESSIVE BY PAST PHILIPPINE ELECTION STANDARDS.

--IN A NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH THE KBL IS PARTICULARLY STRONG, NAMFREL AND OPPOSITION PARTY POLL WATCHERS WERE UNABLE TO FUNCTION.

--IN SELECTED AREAS THE KBL SUBSTITUTED FAKE BALLOTS FOR GENUINE ONES AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, FALSIFIED TALLY SHEETS.

2. REGIONAL ASSESSMENTS

NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

THE MOST DISTURBING EVENT IN METRO MANILA WAS THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF LITERALLY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF VOTERS. IN MAKATI, FOR EXAMPLE, LOCAL KBL CHAIRMEN WENT THROUGH LISTS OF VOTERS IN UPPER-CLASS AREAS AND CROSSED OFF THE NAMES OF DOMESTICS IN ALABANG, LOCAL KBL OFFICIALS SCREENED VOTER LISTS, EXCLUDING ANYONE KNOWN TO BE PRO-AQUINO. IN MAKATI, THERE WERE ALSO SEVERAL INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE, INCLUDING THE USE OF ARMED GOONS TO HARASS NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS AND THE STEALING OF THE BALLOT BOXES.

INCIDENTS

--ARMED MEN IN GUADALUPE HARASSED VOTERS AND FIRED WEAPONS INTO THE AIR FORCING NAMFREL TO LEAVE; THEN FLYING VOTERS APPEARED.
--UNIDO INSPECTORS WERE FORCED TO LEAVE PRECINCTS BEFORE VOTE CASTING IN MAKATI.
--ONE THIRD OR MORE VOTERS IN ALABANG WERE DISENFRANCHISED.
--UNIDO'S MAKATI CHAIRMAN WAS ARRESTED.
--THREE BALLOT BOXES ARRIVED AT PASAY CITY HALL STUFFED WITH VEGETABLES AFTER ARMED HOODLUMS STOLE THEM AND DUMPED THE BALLOTS.
--THE CANVASSING WAS STOPPED IN MAKATI AND CALOOCAN CITY FOR UNEXPLAINED REASONS.

REGION ONE

EMBASSY TEAMS WITNESSED NO INCIDENTS OF FRAUD, BUT NOTED THAT NAMFREL AND UNIDO WERE ABSENT THROUGHOUT MOST OF THE REGION. THEY RECEIVED NUMEROUS REPORTS IN PANGASINAN, THE REGION'S MOST POPULAR PROVINCE, THAT THE KBL USED ARMED MEN AND THREATS TO INTIMIDATE VOTERS AND NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS IN THE PROVINCE. THEY CITED STATISTICALLY IMPROBABLE RESULTS IN ILOCOS NORTE.

INCIDENTS

--IN LAOAG, ILOCOS NORTE, THE VOTE WAS STATISTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE--30,000 TO 500.
--IN BANKO, MOUNTAIN PROVINCE, ARMED MEN FORCIBLY EVICTED UNIDO INSPECTORS, OPENED BALLOT BOXES, AND DESTROYED BALLOTS.

--IN TADIAN, MOUTAIN PROVINCE, BALLOT BOXES FROM TWO PRO-OPPOSITION AREAS WERE STOLEN.
--IN SISON, PANGASINAN, BALLOTS WITH AQUINO'S NAME ON THEM WERE DESTROYED.
--PROVINCIAL RETURNS FROM ILOCOS NORTE INCLUDED 157 PRECINCTS THAT WERE NOT OFFICIALLY LISTED IN THE PROVINCE; KBL OFFICIALS SAID THAT BECAUSE OF LARGE NUMBERS OF NEW VOTERS IN THE PROVINCE, NEW PRECINCTS HAD BEEN CREATED.
--VICE GOVERNOR ROQUE ABLAN FLEW MILITARY MEN AROUND IN HELICOPTERS AND ALLOWED THEM TO VOTE WHENEVER THEY LANDED.
--IN ADAMS, OUT OF 457 REGISTERED VOTERS, 955 RPT 955 VOTED FOR MARCOS--0 FOR AQUINO.
--IN SAN NICOLAS, THE VOTE WAS 15,137 FOR MARCOS TO 0 FOR AQUINO.

REGION TWO

EMBASSY TEAMS WITNESSED SYSTEMATIC EFFORTS BY THE KBL, WORKING WITH COMELEC, TO PREVENT NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE ELECTION BY INSISTING THAT EACH NAMFREL VOLUNTEER BE PERSONALLY ACCREDITED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS. THE TEAMS RECEIVED NUMEROUS REPORTS THAT THE KBL HAD CAMPAIGNED UP TO AND INCLUDING ELECTION DAY, HAD BOUGHT VOTES, INTIMIDATED THE OPPOSITION, AND EVEN CANCELLED THE ELECTION IN TWO TOWNS ALLEGEDLY THREATENED BY THE NPA. THE PROVINCIAL CANVASSING WAS DELAYED THROUGHOUT THE REGION, AND COMELEC EMPLOYERS IN MANILA CHARGED THAT RETURNS FROM REGION II WERE BEING DELAYED AND MANIPULATED SIGNIFICANTLY.

INCIDENTS

--NAMFREL WAS NOT ALLOWED TO OPERATE IN QUIRINO PROVINCE, NOR IN VARIOUS OTHER MUNICIPALITIES THROUGHOUT REGION.
--TWO UNIDO SUPPORTERS WERE KILLED IN QUIRINO; OTHERS ARE REPORTED MISSING. (RECENT NEWSPAPER REPORTS CLAIM ANOTHER FIVE UNIDO SUPPORTERS WERE KILLED IN QUIRINO.)
--ARMED CHDF MEN WERE SIGHTED INSIDE PRECINCTS IN SOLANA, CAGAYAN.
--FIVE NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS WERE ARRESTED IN SANTIAGO; OTHERS WERE FORCED TO LEAVE PRECINCTS.
--NUMEROUS PRECINCTS REPORTED ZERO VOTES FOR AQUINO IN REGION.
--OVER 20 BALLOT BOXES WERE REMOVED FROM PRECINCTS IN SALOMA, CAGAYAN.

--A TALLY OF 99.5 PERCENT WAS REPORTED FOR MARCOS IN A EINA MERCEDES, ISABELA, WHICH WOULD BE IMPROBABLE.

REGION THREE

EMBASSY TEAMS SAW ARMED MEN THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE OF TARLAC, AND WERE UNABLE TO LOCATE NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS IN SEVERAL TOWNS RIFE WITH REPORTS OF INTIMIDATION. THOUSANDS OF VOTERS WERE DISENFRANCHISED IN OPPOSITION STRONGHOLDS IN PAMPANGA AND TARLAC. THE TEAM RECEIVED CONSISTENT REPORTS OF MASSIVE FRAUD, INCLUDING THE STEALING OF BALLOT BOXES IN TARLAC.

INCIDENTS

--ONE THIRD OF THE VOTERS IN BAMBAN, TARLAC WERE DISENFRANCHISED WHEN VOTER LISTS WERE SWITCHED ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTION.
--ARMED MEN STOLE A BALLOT BOX IN SAN ANTONIO AND SHOT AT NEWSMEN WHO TRIED TO FILM THE INCIDENT.
--NAMFREL WAS FORCED THROUGH INTIMIDATION TO WITHDRAW IN CONCEPCION, THE HOME OF CORAZON AQUINO.
--ALL NEW VOTERS, NUMBERING 12,000, WERE EXCLUDED FROM REGISTRATION ROLLS IN SAN FERNANDO, PAMPANGA.
--FIFTEEN BALLOT BOXES WERE STOLEN IN CONCEPCION, TARLAC; SIX WERE RECOVERED BY NAMFREL.

REGION FOUR

EMBASSY TEAMS REPORTED THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF VOTERS IN THIS OPPOSITION STRONGHOLD WERE DISENFRANCHISED THROUGH VARIOUS MEANS, MOSTLY THROUGH THE CHANGING OF VOTING LISTS. NAMFREL AND THE OPPOSITION APPEARED WELL ORGANIZED, BUT THE TEAMS CONTINUED TO HEAR REGULAR REPORTS OF INTIMIDATION AND VOTE BUYING.

INCIDENTS

--EMBASSY TEAM WITNESSED UNIFORMED SOLDIERS PREVENTING A NAMFREL VOLUNTEER FROM ENTERING A PRECINCT IN CALAMBA, LAGUNA AND SAW PC-INP IN EVERY PRECINCT THEY VISITED.
--ARMED MEN STOLE BALLOT BOXES IN SAN PASQUAL, BATANGAS.
--RETURNS IN CAVITE WERE OPENED BY THE PROVINCIAL TREASURER, WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF THE PROVINCIAL CANVASSING BOARD, IN VIOLATION OF ELECTION LAWS.

--IN CAVITE, ONLY 399,000 OUT OF 514,000 REGISTERED VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED.
--APPROXIMATELY 150,000 VOTERS IN LAGUNA WERE DISENFRANCHISED.
--MARCOS WON BY A 10 - 1 MARGIN IN SEVERAL TOWNS IN LAGUNA IN WHICH NAMFREL AND UNIDO WERE NOT ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE.

REGION FIVE

THE EMBASSY TEAM NOTED THAT THE BIGGEST PROBLEM IN THE REGION WAS THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF A LARGE NUMBERS OF VOTERS. THERE WERE ALSO REPORTS OF BALLOT BOXES BEING STOLEN AND OF MILITARY "FLYING VOTERS". NAMFREL AND UNIDO POLLWATCHERS WERE GENERALLY ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE VOTING PROCESS WITHOUT PROBLEM.

INCIDENTS

--44 BALLOT BOXES WERE STOLEN IN CAMARINES DEL SUR.
--10 - 15 PERCENT OF VOTERS WERE DISENFRANCHISED IN CAMARINES DEL SUR.
--SOLDIERS VOTED ILLEGALLY IN NAGA CITY.

REGION SIX

THE ELECTION IN THIS REGION WAS MARRED BY MASSIVE FRAUD, INTIMIDATION, AND VIOLENCE, INCLUDING THE INTIMIDATION OF A U.S. OBSERVER TEAM AND THE ASSASSINATION OF AN EX-GOVERNOR OF ANTIQUE, JAVIER. OBSERVERS HEARD WIDESPREAD REPORTS OF INTIMIDATION AND HARASSMENT OF NAMFREL AND UNIDO PERSONNEL AND OF ARMED MEN TAKING CONTROL OF PRECINCTS.

INCIDENTS

--EX-CONGRESSMAN ALDEGUER BROUGHT IN 40 HEAVILY ARMED MEMBERS OF THE "LOST COMMAND" FROM MINDANAO TO ILOILO.
--NAMFREL WAS COMPLETELY EXCLUDED IN NEGROS DEL NORTE AND THE UNIDO CHAIRMAN WAS SUMMARILY DISCHARGED BY THE COMELEC REGISTRAR.
--OPEN BALLOTING TOOK PLACE IN CARLOS, ILOILO.
--A UNIDO WORKER WAS SHOT IN THE BACK IN DINGIE, ILOILO.
--EMBASSY OFFICERS WERE THREATENED BY ARMED MEN.
--EX-GOVERNOR JAVIER WAS KILLED IN SAN JOSE, ANTIQUE APPARENTLY BY LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS.

--80 PERCENT OF ALL BALLOT BOXES IN CADIZ WERE NOT COUNTED IN THE PRECINCTS, INSTEAD THEY WERE COUNTED AT A LOCAL SCHOOL WHERE NAMFREL WAS NOT ALLOWED TO OBSERVE.
--UNIDO POLLWATCHERS WERE NOT ALLOWED TO ENTER PRECINCTS IN SOME AREAS.
--10,000 - 15,000 VOTERS WERE DISENFRANCHISED IN ILOILO.

REGION SEVEN

ALTHOUGH OBSERVERS IN CEBU AND BOHOL DID NOT PERSONALLY WITNESS INCIDENTS OF FRAUD DURING VISITS TO POLLING PLACES IN NORTHERN CEBU AND SOUTHERN BOHOL, THEY SAW WIDESPREAD EVIDENCE OF VOTER INTIMIDATION, VOTE BUYING, AND DISENFRANCHISEMENT.

INCIDENTS

--IN MOST LOCATIONS, SOME REGISTERED VOTERS WERE UNABLE TO FIND THEIR NAMES ON REGISTRATION LISTS AND WERE NOT ALLOWED TO VOTE.
--THE BALLOT BOX FOR ASTURIAS WAS DELIVERED TO THE CANVASSING CENTER IN CEBU CITY OPEN AND UNLOCKED. THE COUNT WAS AN UNLIKELY 309 FOR MARCOS AND 6 FOR AQUINO.
--INITIAL LARGE MARGINS FOR AQUINO IN ASTURIAS, TABUELAN AND TABAUAN WERE REVERSED AS BALLOTS FROM REMOTE PRECINCTS, SHOWING LARGE MARCOS VICTORIES, ARRIVED.
--EDGAR GICA, THE KBL MEMBER OF THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF CANVASSERS IN CEBU CITY WAS CAUGHT BY NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS TRYING TO SLIP A FAKE TALLY SHEET FROM HIS BRIEFCASE INTO A PILE OF AUTHENTIC RETURNS.
--PRIOR TO THE ELECTION, THE COMELEC REGISTRAR IN TABUGAN TOWN, JUAN PEQUE, RESIGNED AFTER DESCRIBING CHEATING CARRIED OUT BY KBL MAYOR RAMON DURANO, JR. OF DANAO CITY DURING THE 1984 ELECTION. PEQUE CITED THREATS AGAINST HIS LIFE BY DURANO AS THE REASON FOR HIS RESIGNATION.
--OBSERVERS WITNESSED "COMELEC CHECKPOINTS", MANNED BY A PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY UNIT IN COMPOSTELLA, WHICH WERE INSTRUCTED TO OBTAIN CLEARANCE FROM DANAO CITY BEFORE ALLOWING NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS TO PASS. THUS, NAMNFREL WAS PREVENTED FROM OPERATING IN DANAO AND DECLARED THE ELECTION NULL AND VOID THERE.
--ARMED MEN OF DURANO INTIMIDATED VOTERS AT POLLING PLACES IN DANAO.

REGION EIGHT

OBSERVERS FOUND LITTLE EVIDENCE OF IRREGULARITIES IN VISITS TO POLLING PLACES IN LEYTE. INDELIBLE INK WAS NOT AVAILABLE AND BALLOTS WERE IN SHORT SUPPLY IN SOME AREAS. NO OTHER PROBLEMS WERE REPORTED.

ACCORDING TO NAMFREL REPORTS THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS TOOK PLACE IN REGION EIGHT:

--IN NORTHERN LEYTE A LOCAL COMELEC REGISTER WOULD NOT SIGN IDS FOR NAMFREL SUBSTITUTES.
--THE NAMFREL HEADQUARTERS IN LEYTE WAS RAIDED BY MILITARY MEN.
--IN NORTHERN LEYTE THERE WERE REPORTS OF VOTE-BUYING, MISSING NAMES ON VOTER LISTS, DELIBLE INK, AND SEVERAL VIOLENT INCIDENTS. OPEN BALLOTTING REPORTEDLY TOOK PLACE IN AT LEAST ONE MUNICIPALITY.
--BALLOTS WERE SEEN INSIDE THE HOUSE OF THE CITY TREASURER OF TACLOBAN, SANTOS SATORRE.

REGION NINE

EMBASSY OBSERVERS REPORTED WIDESPREAD VOTER INTIMIDATION AND DISENFRANCHISEMENT DIRECTED AGAINST THE OPPOSITION, ESPECIALLY IN RURAL AREAS. OVERALL, THE ELECTION APPEARED TO BE RELATIVELY CLEAN AND FAIR.

INCIDENTS

--SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE THE ELECTION, A BOMB BLAST DEMOLISHED AN OPPOSITION-OWNED RADIO STATION IN ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR.
--IN DUMALINAO TOWN, MARCOS REPORTEDLY WON WITH MORE VOTES THAN THERE ARE REGISTERED VOTERS.
--IN PAGADIAN CITY, AN ESTIMATED 5 - 20 PERCENT OF VOTERS AT POLLING PLACES WERE UNABLE TO FIND THEIR NAMES ON VOTERS LISTS.
--KBL VOTE BUYING WITH CASH AND GOP RICE WAS EVIDENT, CARRIED OUT BY GOVERNOR UBAY'S KBL PEOPLE.
--IN ISOLATED CASES, ARMED GROUPS (CHDF) COERCED VOTERS AND RESTRICTED ACCESS TO POLLING PLACES.
--ELECTION LISTS WERE SNATCHED AND ELECTIONS WERE CANCELLED IN 7 PRECINCTS IN ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR.

REGION TEN

NO REPORTS AVAILABLE.

ACCORDING TO NAMFREL REPORTS THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS TOOK PLACE IN REGION TEN:

--VOTERS WERE HARRASSED IN DON MARIANO, MISAMIS OCCIDENTIAL. SOME PEOPLE WERE PREVENTED FROM VOTING. THERE WERE ALSO REPORTS OF "OPEN VOTING" AND "OPEN BALLOTS."
--IN THE TOWNS OF CARMEN, CABATBARAN, AND BUENAVISTA IN THE PROVINCE OF AGUSAN DEL NORTE BALLOT BOXES WERE REPORTEDLY SWITCHED. CARBON PAPER WAS USED TO MAKE RECORDS OF VOTES, AND VOTE BUYING TOOK PLACE. THE ABOVE ALLEGEDLY TOOK PLACE WITH THE "CONNIVANCE" OF THE ARMY, ESPECIALLY IN BUENAVISTA.
--NAMFREL WAS ORDERED OUT OF THE PRECINCTS BY THE MAYOR AND ASSEMBLYMAN IN THE PROSPERIDAD, AGUSAN DEL SUR.
--IN THE PROVINCE OF MISAMIS ORIENTAL, A JUDGE AND HER BROTHERS WERE SHOT ON THEIR WAY TO CAST THEIR VOTE.

REGION ELEVEN

VOTER TURNOUT WAS SIGNIFICANTLY SMALLER FOR THE SNAP ELECTION THAN FOR THE 1984 ELECTION IN SPITE OF EXPANDED REGISTRATION LISTS. EMBASSY OBSERVERS ATTRIBUTE THIS TO DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF 10 - 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTING POPULATION. NEW REGISTRATION LISTS COMPILED FOR THE ELECTION WERE REPORTEDLY SHOWN TO BARANGAY OFFICIALS IN SOME AREAS, WHO IDENTIFIED LIKELY OPPOSITION SUPPORTERS FOR EXCLUSION FROM THE LISTS. PARAMILITARY FORCES AND KBL STRONGMEN EXCLUDED UNIDO AND NAMFREL REPRESENTATIVES FROM NUMEROUS POLLING PLACES. OBSERVERS IN DAVAO CITY REPORTED THAT THE ELECTION TRANSPIRED IN A CALM AND ORDERLY MANNER

INCIDENTS

--IN SOUTH COTABATO APPROXIMATELY 275,000 PEOPLE VOTED AS COMPARED TO 301,000 IN THE 1984 ELECTION. IN SULTAN KUDARAT APPROXIMATELY 95,000 PEOPLE VOTED AS COMPARED TO 120,000 IN 1984. THIS IS IN SPITE OF ADDITIONAL REGISTRATIONS.

--IN AREAS WHERE MANY ARE ILLITERATE, KBL OFFICIALS FILLED IN BALLOTS FOR THOSE UNABLE TO DO SO THEMSELVES.
--ONE BALLOT BOX WAS SNATCHED IN REGION 11.
--A UNIDO WORKER WAS STABBED TO DEATH ON HIS WAY HOME FROM GUARDING BALLOT BOXES IN GENERAL SANTOS CITY.

REGION TWELVE

OBSERVERS REPORTED MASSIVE FRAUD IN THE FORM OF BOUGHT VOTES, VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT, VOTER INTIMIDATION, AND TERMINATION OF VOTING BEFORE ALL HAD VOTED. NAMFREL WAS NON-EXISTENT AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL IN LANAO DEL SUR. HEAVY MILITARY PRESENCE WAS USED TO MUSTER VOTES FOR MARCOS OR MINIMIZE THE OPPOSITION VOTE.

INCIDENTS

--A LARGE NUMBER OF SOLDIERS WERE OBSERVED IN MARAWI, LANAO DEL SUR, WHERE VIOLENCE WAS WIDESPREAD AND VOTER INTIMIDATION, ATTRIBUTABLE TO MARCOS ASSOCIATE ALI DIMAPRO, WAS APPARENT.
--IN COTABATO, MAGUINDANAO, MANY VOTERS WERE UNABLE TO LOCATE THEIR NAMES ON VOTER REGISTRATION SHEETS.
--OBSERVERS REPORTED VOTER POPULATIONS THAT WERE 300 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN SOME KBL CONTROLLED TOWNS IN MAGUINDINAO. IN THESE SAME AREAS OBSERVERS NOTICED VERY FEW PEOPLE AT THE POLLS AND TYPICAL RETURNS OF 350 - 0 FOR MARCOS. TOWNS IN THE SAME AREA WHICH WERE NOT INFLUENCED BY KBL POWER BROKERS SHOWED A TYPICAL MARGIN OF 2 - 1 FOR AQUINO.
--NAMFREL WITHDREW FROM PROVINCIAL CANVASSING IN LANAO DEL SUR, CITING LACK OF COMELEC COOPERATION AS THE REASON.
--CANVASSING FOR THREE QUARTERS OF ALL MUNICIPALITIES IN MAGUINDANAO WAS COMPLETED BY THE KBL DURING A SHORT RECESS WHEN UNIDO REPRESENTATIVES WERE OUT OF THE ROOM, A PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TASK.
--IN LOCALITIES WHERE AQUINO WAS EXPECTED TO DO WELL IN LANAO DEL SUR AND LANAO DEL NORTE, VOTER TURNOUTS WERE SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER THAN DURING THE 1984 ELECTION. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES CAST IN MUNICIPALITIES OF OPPOSITION STRENGTH TENDED TO BE NOTICEABLY LOWER THAN THE COMPOSITE AVERAGES IN BOTH PROVINCES.
--IN KAROMATAN, LANAO DEL NORTE, RETURNS WERE BROUGHT TO CANVASSING CENTERS IN A CARDBOARD BOX AND SHOWED A STATISTICALLY IMPROBABLE WIN FOR MARCOS.

(Exhibit F)

KBL AFFIDAVITS ALLEGING NAMFREL VIOLATIONS

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
MUN. OF KINOGUITAN) S.S.
PROVINCE OF MISAMIS ORIENTAL)

A F F I D A V I T

I, LOURDES TANDILING, of legal age, married, filipino citizen, with residence at Poblacion, Kinoguitan, Misamis Oriental, after having been duly sworn in accordance with law, hereby depose and say:

That I am the Municipal Kagawad of my municipality and as such I received reports of NAMFREL violations in connection with the presidential election held last Friday, February 7, 1986, and among those verified to be true are the following:

A certain voter named Lucresia Cabaltera was harassed and threatened by a NAMFREL member named Miss Verginia Acenas by holding said voter searching in her bra, pocket and some part of her body for a sample ballot of KBL forcing her to surrender a sample ballot of the KBL and doing unbecoming and unusual acts to said Lucresia Cabaltera. I also saw said Verginia Acenas watching the electors inside the booth while writting and even campaigning some voters for an opposition candidate for President.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto set my hand this 11th day of February 1986, in the municipality of Kinogitan, Province of Misamis Oriental.

LOURDES TANDILING

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 11th day of February, 1986 at Kinogitan, Misamis Oriental.

ATTY. PAULINO G. PIOQUINTO
NOTARY P[illegible]

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
MUN. OF GITAGUM) S.S.
PROVINCE OF MISAMIS ORIENTAL)

A F F I D A V I T

I, RANDALL P. TUMBLIDA, of legal age, married, filipino citizen, with residence at Poblacion, Gitagum, Misamis Oriental, after having been duly sworn in accordance with law, hereby depose and say:

That I am the Vice Mayor of my municipality and as such I received reports of MAMFREL violations in coonection with the presidential election held last Friday, February 7, 1986, and among those verified to be true are the following:

That the MAMFREL workers assigned in the different precincts of the Municipality of Gitagum, Misamis Oriental, have been actively campaigning for voters who are identified for Cory Aquino and they were the one who look for their names in the LIST OF VOTERS Form 2A in order they could vote immediately;

That some MAMFREL workers assigned in some precincts are the one holding the LIST OF VOTERS Form 2A and when seeing that such voter is a KBL these MAMFREL workers pretend to be busy looking for voters name so that said voter shall wait;

That a certain MAMFREL WORKER snatched a ballot guide while the voter was inside the boting booth casting his vote;

That MAMFREL workers are campaigning for Cory Aquino inside the precinct by whispering and saying Cory Aquino ta, especially during the time the voters are waiting for their turn to receive the Official Ballot in order to cast their vote;

That the Parish Priest who is the overtall chairman of the MAMFREL in our Municipality is actively campaigning for Cory Aquino and even in his service jeep he put the propaganda of Cory Aquino;

That this affidavit has been executed to manifest the fact that the MAMFREL workers are not impartial in their job as such, and are in fact a campaigner of the opposition.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto set my hand this ___ day of FEbruary 1986, in the municipality of Gitagum, Province of Misamis Oriental.

ATTY. RANDALL P. TUMBLIDA

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 10 day of February, 1986 at Gitagum, Misamis Oriental.

[illegible]
SUBSCRIBED BEFORE

(Exhibit G)

THE ELECTION REGISTRAR

YOU ARE HEREBY DIRECTED TO INSTRUCT NAMFREL REPRESENTATIVES UNDER YOUR JURISDICTION TO TRANSMIT PRECINCT TALLY FORM AND COMELEC FORM NO. 13 THRU PT&T ONLY. COMELEC REPRESENTATIVES MUST ACCOMPANY DELIV ERIES OF RESULTS TO PT&T FOR TRANSMISSION.

CHAIRMAN SAVELLANO

Transmitted 3:15 pm

2-3-86

NOTE:

PER ARRANGEMENT WITH PT&T, RCPI AND BUTEL THIS WILL ONLY BE TRANSMI TTED TO 167 STATIONS OF PT&T. NAMFREL HAS BEEN DULY INFORMED ABOUT THIS ARRANGEMENT.

*ZCZC YC34660 TCR14799
*PUYY AN PUSV 000
*MANILA 071439

*FEB 7 1986

*TO : ALL ELECTION REGISTRAR
* COMELEC

*YOU ARE HEREBY DIRECTED TO INSTRUCT NAMFREL
*REPRESENTATIVE UNDER YOUR JURISDICTION TO TRANSMIT
*THE SAME TALLY FORM THRU PT&T ONLY. COMELEC
*REPRESENTATIVE MUST ACCOMPANY DELIVERY OF RESULT
*TO PP&T ONLY WITHIN YOUR TRANSMISSION PERIOD.

CHAIRMAN VICTORINO SAVELLANO
*COMELEC

*NOTE: TO PTT STATIONS HEAD
* DELIVER ABOVE MESSAGE TO THE ELECTION REGISTRAR OF
* CITY/MUNICIPALITY WHERE WE ARE THE PRIMARY
* CARRIER AS LISTED IN ANNEX A OF OUR MANUAL.

*

*NNNN

*VIA PTT COMET

(NOTE BY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS: True copy of telegram provided by COMELEC. Text and spelling as shown on original. Original containing additional markings is on file with Committee.)

GUIDELINES ON COMELEC NAMFREL PARALLEL TABULATION
OF ADVANCE ELECTION RESULTS

WHEREAS, the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) has the constitutional mandate to see to it that the elections are held in a free, orderly, honest and credible manner, which necessarily includes the fast public dissemination of accurate election results;

WHEREAS, COMELEC, pursuant to its mandated duty, will tabulate the manual election results at the PICC;

WHEREAS, the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) has been accredited as COMELEC's citizen arm to assist COMELEC in the attainment of its constitutionally mandated duties above-stated in order that the sovereign right of the Filipino people to choose their leaders freely and to be informed of the results of their choice;

WHEREAS, NAMFREL has offered to conduct also a separate but parallel and coordinated tabulation of the advance results at the La Salle Greenhills, San Juan, Metro Manila;

NOW THEREFORE, in view of the foregoing and in order to ensure the accuracy of the tabulation of advance results, COMELEC HEREBY AUTHORIZES NAMFREL to conduct its own tabulation of advance results subject to the following terms and conditions:

1. COMELEC and NAMFREL shall conduct separate but parallel and coordinated tabulation of advance results;

COMELEC will tabulate the results at the PICC while NAMFREL will tabulate at the La Salle Greenhills.

The tabulation shall not be stopped and must be completed until the election returns of all precincts received by the Canvass have been tabulated.

2. No transmission of the results from any precinct will be made except on the basis of a complete count of such precinct. Advisory Opinion No. 1 dated January 7, 1986 re: Proclamation of Winning Candidates for President and Vice President

3. The transmission of results to the COMELEC and NAMFREL tabulation Centers shall be done simultaneously and made through means that produce a "hard copy" for proper verification.

4. All posting, announcements, and releases of election results shall be done simultaneously at both Tabulation Centers. No counting or computation of election results shall be anticipated.

5. The gathering and delivery of all election results shall be monitored at both Tabulation Centers by the representatives of COMELEC and NAMFREL who shall have the right to be present and take note of all deliveries/receipts of the results.

PROCEDURE FOR TRANSMITTAL AND CONSOLIDATION OF PRECINCT ELECTION RETURNS:

I. In the Central Polling Center -

a) Each Office of the Election Registrar shall be constituted into a collection center for the 4th copies of the election returns from all election registers for delivery to the PICC.

b) The authorized Napolcom representative shall take delivery under proper receipt the 4th copy of the election returns from the Board of Election Inspectors (BEI) and the Napolcom Precinct Tally Form (PTF) in triplicate duly signed by all the members of the board. The NAMFREL representative shall also be given by the board of inspectors one copy of the Certificate of Votes Classified by Candidates (COVTCBC Form 13) by the precinct.

c) Upon delivery by the election registrar of the 4th copy of the election returns and the PTF and Form 13, he shall note the time of receipt of the return and authenticate the PTF and Form 13 with his signature.

d) The Election Registrar shall then retain the 4th copy of the election return of the corresponding precinct and issue a receipt to the Napolcom representative, furnishing him a copy of the Certificate of Votes Classified by Candidates Form 13 to be transmitted to PICC Tabulation Center and the other PTF and Form 13 to La Salle University.

II. In areas/municipalities from which election results are to be transmitted by courier -

a) The Board of Inspectors of the precincts from which the 4th copy of the election results will be delivered to the duly authorized

representative of the county for transmission by courier [illegible] quick step the PTF and issue one copy of the certificate of [illegible] obtained by candidates (CHAMIS Form 13) to said persons representatives.

The issuing representative shall retain the 4th copy of the election returns, the PTF and Form 13 to the Election Registrar who shall scan the PTF and the copies, retain the one copy of the election returns and authenticate the PTF and Form 13. The issuing representative shall give PTF copy 1 and Form 13 to the local issuing station personnel and deliver PTF copy 2 to the FSCC Tabulation Center. The PTF copy 3 shall be delivered by the issuing member to the [illegible] Tabulation Center. Whenever a duly authorized is available to [illegible] representative.

III. In cases where election results will be transmitted by telegram/telex through ECFI, FF & V and similar facilities:

a) ISSUING shall designate its representative at the precinct level to the Municipal Election Registrar and the FSCC who is authorized to retain the fourth copy of the Election Returns (ER) and appropriate transmission forms which consist of the computer tabulation ISSUING Precinct Tally (PTF Form), all duly signed by the Board of Election Inspectors (BEI). The forms will all be brought to the Election Registrar.

b) The Election Registrar shall then open the fourth copy of the election ER and in the presence of the ISSUING representative verify the data called for in the transmission form (PTF) and then sign all the aforesaid forms.

c) Upon verification that the data in the PTF are the same as the fourth copy of the election returns, the Election Registrar shall sign the PTF, retain the fourth copy of the return and one copy of the PTF, and direct the ISSUING representative to transmit the election returns through FF & V, ECFI or similar [illegible] simultaneously transmit to the FSCC and to Alien [illegible] Tabulation Center.

IV. A "hard copy" of the transmission form, duly acknowledged by the telegraphic station as received for transmission, shall be returned to the Election Registrar by the HAVENS representative. If the Election Registrar notes any discrepancy between what has been sent to the FIRE and HAVENS Tabulation Centers and the fourth copy of the election return, he shall forthwith order the HAVENS representative to, or, if he so chooses, personally make re-transmission of the correction(s) to the Tabulation Centers.

V. With respect to precincts from which the HAVENS representatives do not have a duly signed triplicate copy of the FIRE the results to be transmitted by the carrier shall be a transmission copy of the election return as copied by the Election Registrar from the fourth copy of the return and as provided [illegible]. If above with regards to the "hard" copy and discrepancy, if any.

VI. In all cases, if there are differences or discrepancies between the fourth copy of the election result and the FIRE [illegible] and, where applicable, Form 13, the Election Registrar shall so annotate them on the transmission form and, in the presence of the HAVENS representative, copies the results from the fourth copy of the election records in a CENELEC telegraphic form in duplicate which he shall sign. The original of the telegraphic form shall be given to the HAVENS representative for transmission and the duplicate copy shall be retained and kept by the HAVENS representative. The procedure stated in Par. IV above shall also be followed as applicable.

VII. All Election Registrars and Flag Officers in Charge by virtue of their responsibilities in regard to the tabulation of advance election results, are directed to stay in their offices to ensure the prompt transmission of election results until all results are transmitted.

To ensure the successful implementation of the tabulation, CENELEC shall issue the appropriate instruction to its officials, registrars, board of election inspectors, and law enforcement agencies to assist

and persons COMELEC and NAMFREL personnel in the performance of their duties in connection with the tabulation of advance election results.

XI. To allow a reasonable number of representatives of COMELEC and NAMFREL to be present at each others tabulation centers, Greenhills & PICC to observe and or monitor operations. It is understood that such representatives of COMELEC and NAMFREL assigned to the other's Center must be civilian and must not be allowed to carry weapons of any kind and must not violate rules for safety, discipline and orderliness.

X. The COMELEC and NAMFREL shall jointly work out and approve the system and procedures for the tabulation of advance election results so that the posting, release or announcement of election data/results in both Tabulation Centers shall be done simultaneously.

XI. The COMELEC shall issue a resolution embodying or accepting all the terms, provisions and conditions in this guidelines and which supersedes and/or modifying provisions in Resolution No. 1703 dated January 28, 1986 which are inconsistent with above guidelines.

(Exhibit H)

STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN PROVIDED BY NAMFREL

AREAS WHERE NAMFREL WAS DENIED PRESENCE OR INTIMIDATED FROM ORGANIZING
(initial listing - subject to further field verification)

	NO. OF MUNICIPALITIES		TOTAL PRECINCTS AFFECTED
	TOTAL DENIAL	PARTIAL DENIAL	
NATIONAL CAP. REGION			
Makati		1	383
Muntinlupa		1	133
Sub-total			516
REGION 1			
Abra	17	4	222
Ilocos Norte	4	2	197
La Union	6	1	215
Pangasinan	1	3	128
Ilocos Sur		12	113
Sub-total	28	32	875
REGION 2			
Cagayan	9	7	460
Isabela	30	7	1238
Quirino	6		162
Ifugao	1		13
Kalinga-Apayao	3		72
Nueva Vizcaya	1	6	75
Sub-total	50	20	2020
REGION 3			
Tarlac	5	2	296
Nueva Ecija		14	183
Pampanga		1	7
Zambales		2	52
Bulacan	1		7
Sub-total	6	19	545
REGION 4			
Quezon	1		23
Aurora		1	4
Cavite	1	6	84

Rizal		4	45
Laguna	2	1	84
Mindoro Or.	1		33
Sub-total	6	12	273

REGION 5

Masbate	2		123
Sub-total	2		123

REGION 6

Antique	10		406
Negros del Norte	10	1	418
Iloilo Prov.		6	40
Negros Occ.		3	32
Sub-total	20	10	896

REGION 7

Cebu Prov.	5	4	390
Cebu City			98
Negros Or.		1	24
Sub-total	5	5	512

REGION 8

Southern Leyte	1	1	52
Leyte	1	4	88
Eastern Samar	1		12
Northern Samar		1	14
Sub-total	3	6	166

REGION 9

Basilan	2	1	81
Zamboanga Norte	1	1	50
Zamboanga Sur	7	1	250
Sub-total	10	3	381

REGION 10

Agusan del Sur	4		132
Agusan Norte	1	1	46
Bukidnon	5		158
Surigao Norte	8	1	150

Cagayan de Oro		1	25
Sub-total	18	3	511
REGION 11			
Davao Sur	1	2	64
South Cotabato		1	17
Davao Norte	4		186
Surigao Sur		5	50
Sub-total	5	8	317
REGION 12			
North Cotabato	1	1	24
Lanao Norte	3	7	210
Lanao Sur	22		317
Sultan Kudarat	2		30
Maguindanao	6		476
Sub-total	32	8	1057
GRAND TOTAL	185	128	8192

*** denial in at least 10 % of precincts in municipality

(Exhibit I)

C-98

Republic of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Office of the Provincial Election Supervisor
Negros del Norte, Cadiz City
-oOo-

February 6, 1986

TO : The Board of Election Inspectors
Victorias, Negros del Norte

FROM : Provincial Election Supervisor
Negros del Norte

SUBJECT : REVOCATION OF VICTORIAS HAMPHIL ACCREDITATION.

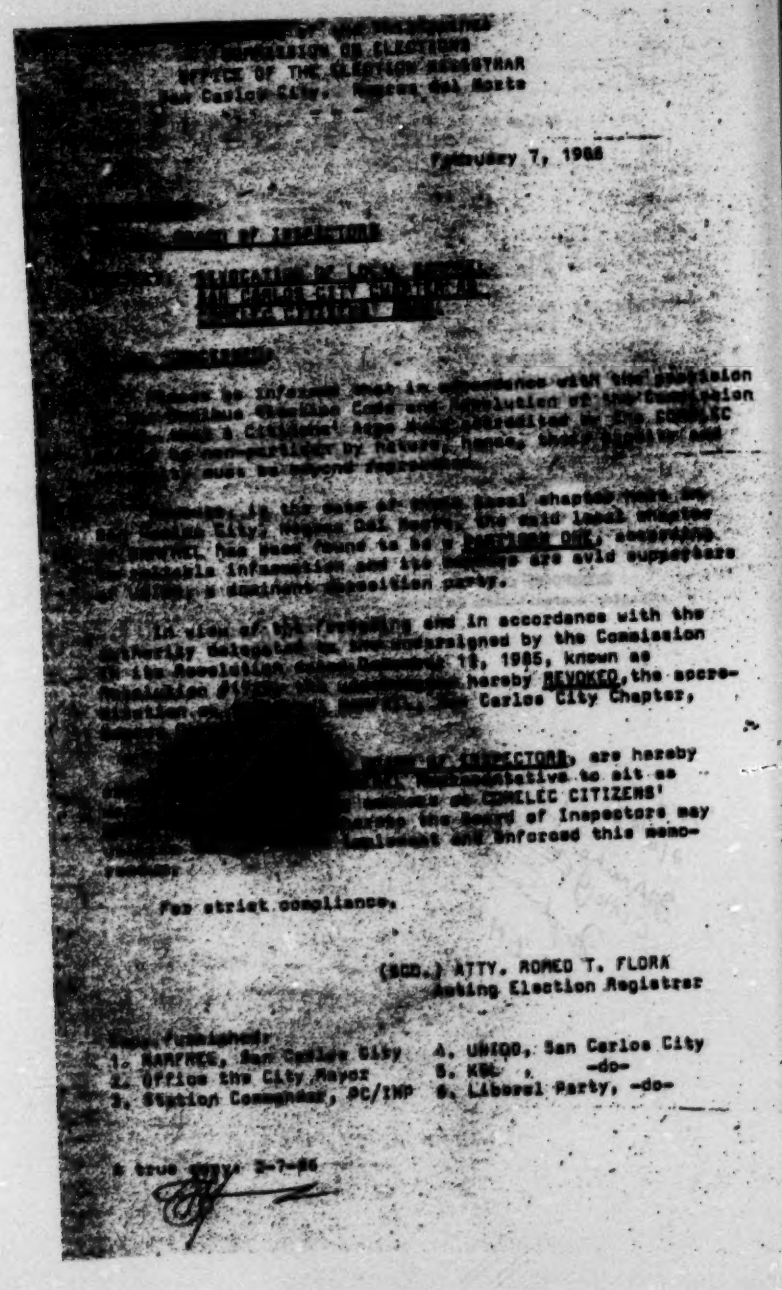
Upon proper investigation, it was verified that HAMPHIL representatives, Dr. Patricio Tan, Engr. Antonio Portich and Atty. Juan Hagad, who are the Provincial HAMPHIL leaders in Negros del Norte have in fact been engaging in partisan political activities in favor of UNIDO candidates, thereby violating Comelec Resolution No. 85-2210 dated December 24, 1985.

Consequently, the HAMPHIL representatives in the different cities and municipalities in Negros del Norte appointed by them can also be considered partisan.

WHEREFORE, effective today, February 6, 1986, HAMPHIL Victorias Chapter accreditation is hereby REVOKED.

ATTY. AGUSTIN S. DESUYO
Provincial Election Supervisor

received
2/6/86
Sy Anaya-
Comelec, Dist. Reg. dir. to
Imprimatur
J. CMICO
ELEM. SCHOOL



COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
OFFICE OF THE ELECTION REGISTRAR
San Carlos City, Pangasinan

February 7, 1986

BOARD OF INSPECTORS

[redacted]

[redacted] in accordance with the provision [redacted] Code and Resolution of the Commission [redacted] Citizens' Legal Assistance Inc. (CONCLEC [redacted] by Batas Pambansa, Blg. [redacted] and [redacted] be beyond reproach.

[redacted] in the case of [redacted] Chapter [redacted] San Carlos City, Province of Pangasinan, the said Local Chapter [redacted] has been found to be a [redacted], espousing [redacted] infamous and its members are avid supporters [redacted], a dominant opposition party.

In view of the foregoing and in accordance with the authority delegated [redacted] undersigned by the Commission [redacted] Resolution [redacted] dated December 18, 1985, known as [redacted] hereby REVOKED, the accre- [redacted] San Carlos City Chapter, [redacted]

[redacted] BOARD OF INSPECTORS, are hereby [redacted] Representative to sit as [redacted] of CONCLEC CITIZENS' [redacted] the Board of Inspectors may [redacted] implement and enforced this memo- [redacted]

For strict compliance.

(SGD.) ATTY. ROMEO T. FLORA
Acting Election Registrar

Copy furnished:
1. NAMFREL, San Carlos City
2. Office the City Mayor
3. Station Commander, PC/INP
4. UNIDO, San Carlos City
5. KBL , -do-
6. Liberal Party, -do-

A true copy: 2-7-86

KILUSANG BAGONG LIPUNAN PARTY
PROVINCIAL HEADQUARTERS
ILAGAN, ISABELA

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

January 27, 1986

SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS:

TO: 1. All Municipal Mayors
As KBL Municipal Chairmen
Province of Isabela

2. All Kabataang Barangay Municipal Chairmen
Province of Isabela

3. All KBL Radio Commentators
Province of Isabela

4. All KBL Campaign Leaders (KMDU),
Supporters/Sympathizers
Province of Isabela

5. All Concerned.

SUBJECT: NAMFREL'S DANGEROUS ADVENTURISM.

Our experience, and that of our people in the province shows that during the parliamentary elections of May 14, 1984, the alleged NAMFREL volunteers caused provincewide confusion and committed acts of intimidation and terrorism in the voting centers or polling places, thereby frustrating the free and orderly casting of votes thereat. This should not, and must not be tolerated in the forthcoming Presidential Election on February 7, 1986, because a second experience of the same nature and magnitude, will destroy the credibility of the electoral process. The accredited citizen arms of the Commission on Elections, one of which being NAMFREL, are only agents and/or representatives to assist the COMELEC in its work. As such agents or representatives, the alleged NAMFREL volunteers must ABSOLUTELY be non-partisan and impartial, otherwise, the purpose of their accreditation will be rendered nugatory.

Therefore, they can not be more powerful than their principal, the COMELEC. Hence, if such NAMFREL agents go beyond the bounds of law

and General Instructions of the COMELEC, then they will perforce, expose themselves for possible criminal prosecution in court for election offenses, punishable under the provisions of Sections 261-262, of Batas Blg. 881, otherwise known as the OMNIBUS ELECTION CODE, in relation to Batas Pambansa Blg. 883, known as the "1986 Snap Presidential Election Law".

Consistent with the constitutional mandate for a clean, free, orderly and honest elections in the forthcoming political exercise, the following specific mandatory instructions affecting the activities of the NAMFREL are hereby issued as a precautionary measure, to wit:

1. The NAMFREL provincial representative must be duly appointed and accredited by the Provincial Election Supervisor in accordance with instructions from COMELEC, Manila;

2. The duly accredited provincial representative shall nominate to the Municipal Local Election Registrars in the different municipalities of the province, the names with their addresses, of those persons to be appointed and accredited in the specific precints they will be assigned.

3. Thereafter, the Municipal/Local Election Registrar concerned shall appoint and accredit the duly qualified NAMFREL representative, who shall be a qualified VOTER in the specific precint he is to be appointed;

4. There shall be no appointment or accreditation of a NAMFREL representative to other precints where he is not a qualified voter thereat.

FOR EXAMPLE: if JUAN DELA CRUZ, who is a registered voter in precint No. 1 of Calamagui, Ilagan, Isabela, is appointed and duly accredited as NAMFREL representative for precint No. 1 of the same town, then the same Juan dela Cruz can not be appointed and accredited as NAMFREL representative at the same time to precint No. 3 or precint No. 21 of the same municipality. Similarly, PEDRO SAN JUAN who is a resident, and a registered voter of Santiago, Isabela, can not be appointed and accredited as NAMFREL representative of Ilagan, Isabela. Never! Therefore, there shall be no general appointment and accreditation of ROVING NAMFREL representatives, although there shall be as many NAMFREL representatives appointed and accredited in as many number of precints in the town. The rule shall be - one NAMFREL representative for only one precint and the Board of Election Inspectors.

or Canvassers in the different voting centers or polling places in the towns can deny recognition of other NAMFREL representatives not duly-appointed and accredited to the specific precincts they are assigned;

5. The sole appointing and accrediting authority in the precint level, is the Local Election Registrar concerned. He issues the prepared corresponding COMELEC citizen arm Identification Card provided for the purpose. This power of appointment and accreditation includes the power to revoke upon notice, should such accredited NAMFREL representative by his actuations, manifested partiality to any political party or candidate and/or has performed acts in excess or in controvention of his functions and duties. (Art. V, Resolution No. 1729, Dec. 12, 1985);

6. Should there be an objection raised or filed, against the possible appointment and accreditation of a NAMFREL representative, for the reason that such person is not a registered voter in the precint he will be assigned, and/or that such person nominated is known to be PARTISAN and the Local Election Registrar is convinced that he is so, after a hearing conducted, then the latter may refused to issue the appointment and accreditation. He may then accredit any representative from any of the reputable and non partisan civic organizations in the municipality or precint where he is a registered voter, but must inform immediately COMELEC, Manila, of such action taken;

7. The decision of the Local Election Registrar is FINAL and appealable only direct to the Commission on Elections in Manila and not otherwise;

8. The genuine NAMFREL representative can watch and observe the proceedings of the Board of Election Inspectors and/or Board of Canvassers, but they should not actively participate in the deliberation of the Board;

9. All other non accredited NAMFREL representatives, should be barred from entering the rooms except to vote, where the voting is being done and during canvass thereof. They shall stay in an area at least 50 meters away from the polling place or voting center.

Simply stated, the qualifications and the functions, duties, responsibilities and liabilities of a "genuine NAMFREL representative" is similar to that of a duly appointed and accredited watcher of the KBL mojority party and

that of the UNIDO, the dominant opposition party, or other groups of candidates, as outlined in the General Instructions contained in Sections 9-12, Resolution No. 1748 for the Board of Election Inspectors and Section 9, of Resolution No. 1749 for the Board of Canvassers, respectively, promulgated by the Commission on Elections, January 10, 1986, and other related orders. Outside of these instructions, the acts of the NAMFREL representatives are considered ULTRA VIRES and the same ought never to be respected or recognized, without prejudice to his possible criminal prosecution.

All told; let the KBL machinery work as expected, because there is no substitute for VICTORY, even as there is no room for COMPLACENCY!

Immediate widest dissemination of these instructions is hereby enjoined.

SGD. FAUSTINO N. D
Governor
Provincial Chairman

Copy Furnished:

1. The Provincial Election Supervisor
   Ilagan, Isabela.

2. The Chairman
   COMELEC, Manila

(Exhibit J)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
S.S.
City of Manila)

AFFIDAVIT

I, PEDRO F. BARAOIDAN, married, of legal age,and residing at 31 Pines Street, Fairview, Quezon City, after having been sworn to in accordance with law, hereby depose and say:

THAT, I have been deputized as the Project Manager of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project, pursuant to the Commission on Elections Resolution No. 1763, dated January 28, 1986;

THAT in accordance with such deputation, I effected the development of an Advance Election Return Tabulation System through the Project Management Office of the National Computer Center (NCC) pursuant to Section 2 of the aforementioned COMELEC resolution, authorizing me to enlist the component units of the NCC in my assigned mission;

THAT, in addition to the above action I recommended to the Commission the creation of a Board of consultants which would assist me in steering the Tabulation Project until its completion;

THAT, on February 7, 1986 the System designed and developed by the Project Management Office of NCC, after a review and approval by the Board of Consultants, was already in place and ready for implementation;

THAT, on the evening of February 9 at about 10:30 P.M., a group of about thirty (30) programmers and other technicians, primarily from the Tabulation Section of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project Organization, walked out of the plenary hall of PICC where the facilities were installed and were being operated, into the lobby where a group of journalists, newsmen, photographers and TV and broadcast media personnel were waiting; the media men herded/escorted the group into waiting vans and/or cars; the group was then transported to Baclaran Redemptorist Church where they held a press conference, wherein they stated that they walked out of the COMELEC tabulation due to certain discrepancies between the results in computer printouts in their possession and the entries on the tally board; they also stated that this

I Baraoidan

constituted cheating, and did not want to have any part of it.

THAT, the seeming discrepancy that have been observed by the programmers and other personnel who had walked out could have been fully explained by me had they taken the time to consult me, instead of pre-judging and imputing certain motivations on my alleged action of pacing the plenary hall including my responding to frequent telephone calls on the plenary hall floor and in the backstage of the hall, and my alleged "unusual actuation" of having a calculator brought to the backstage; and that instead of condemning the undersigned for allegedly "unprofessional" conduct these programmers and technicians who walked out could have avoided violations of certain provisions of the Omnibus Election Code, while sparing the country, the Commission on Election and the National Computer Center, the institution where they regularly belong, of undue embarrassment.

THAT, the computer printout upon which the "walkout group" is basing their charge of cheating, is derived from the system which they themselves designed and developed, and which allowed only telexes of precinct level results, NAMFREL tally sheets on the precinct level, and advance election returns as the inputs to the system; telexes covering the same precinct are to be suspended together with the original result until further clarificaton and/or verification from either the election registrar or COMELEC. The system likewise did not allow for the inclusion in the final tally, of telexes which summarize the results for a group of precincts, if the votes could not be broken down by precincts. The action that was envisioned in this case was to suspend these summary telexes, until the breakdown is available from clarificatory telexes from the election registrar. This leads to a delay in the tallying of the results of groups of precincts which are reported in the summary forms with no breakdown by precincts.

THAT, in view of the above and when we noticed a number of results being submitted were large enough to affect the cumulative tally at any point in time, we requested the Chairman of the Commission on February 8, 1986 to allow us to proceed utilizing such summary results in order not to delay reporting of the results from any locality concerned, with the understanding that we would exercise care to ensure no double counting, by deducting the results that had already been reported which are included in the summary results,and that the breakdown by precinct be recorded as they become available.

With the authorization by the Commission, we then implemented a new system whereby available summary telexes would be incorporated in the final tally at the tabulation board. We decided not to inform the system people or the tabulation group about the system, inasmuch as incorporating the provision would

need extensive revision and reprogramming of the existing system and would necessarily disrupt the existing operation. We merely added an intermediate step, that is, after fully accounting for the earlier precinct reports,we incorporated the summary telexes into the computer printout derived from the individual precincts inputs, prior to posting on the board. This was initially done manually but the process has now been computerized.

THAT, the above explanation shows that there is no inconsistency between the claim of the "walkout group" and the results on the tally board, particularly if we take note of the number of precincts included in each report; that there is no basis for the charges of cheating, manipulation or changing of votes for any of the candidates; and that the seeming difference between what the "walkout group" saw in the computer printouts is fully explained by the incorporation of summary reports in the final figures that were posted on the tally board.

THAT, after the walkout, the project personnel I assigned to inventory remaining resources indicated the absence of sytems and program diskettes, program listings, tabulation outputs, and some data diskettes with the information that some members of the "walk-out" group were seen carrying these materials.

THAT, I instructed other Project personnel to try taking over the tabulation function; however, these personnel were not able to do so, inasmuch as the people who had walked out had taken with them all the systems and program diskettes, including the passwords needed to enter and use the tabulating computer systems; the tabulation was at a stand still for at least twelve hours until we started our recovery operations to bring back the systems into the appropriate processing stream; although not fully operational,we started processing at about 5:00 P.M. February 10, 1986; we made our update of the tally board about 7:30 P.M. February 10, 1986, about twenty (20) hours after the walkout of the programmers and technicians.

THAT, the walkout of the thirty programmers and technicians was pre-planned and premeditated as evidenced by the unusual number of people in the gallery who had been systematically heckling the COMELEC Project personnel, the shouting of "CORY ! CORY !", "Walk-Out ! Walk-Out !" and the fact that the group stood up simultaneously after a signal from Ms. Linda Kapunan, exiting one after the other into waiting press and media men, who seemed to have been informed beforehand that a walk-out would be staged.

THAT, as a result of the above observation, I began to recall the unusual interest of the above group in being involved and assigned to the operations group; that inasmuch as they had been involved in the design and the development of the system, I

3 Barcelon

initially looked at them as technical consultants only but they made representations to be directly involved through their immediate supervisor; that the Board of Consultants allowed this exception to the normal data processing practice in view of the time constraint being faced by the Project, not fully realizing that, in effect, we were relinquishing complete control to the group.

THAT, there were computer programming "bugs" or errors which we encountered during the early tabulations; one error hung up the system for about three hours, another error miscomputed the number of precincts, giving unreasonable figures on the tally board; the number of precincts figures had to be changed eventually, but this resulted in giving the impression that the Project personnel are manipulating the figures;

THAT, the system also experienced delays in the processing; data diskette errors kept cropping up and there seemed to be bottle necks in the flow of work data from one section to another;

THAT, on the basis of the above observations and the final act of "walkout", I cannot entirely rule out the fact that the same group who had designed and developed the system had really wanted to slow down and/or paralyze the system from the very beginning, as they had done when they walked out, taking along with them all systems, programs, and data diskettes, passwords and source listings;

THAT, the above notwithstanding, I respectfully submit to the Commission on Elections the matter of taking the appropriate action on this case; I would merely point out that the COMELEC Tabulation Project has sufferred delays, and that its credibility has been put in question by the irresponsible and impulsive act of the thirty programmers and other technicians who walked out of the COMELEC Tabulation Project on February 9, 1986.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereby affix my hand this 15th day of February 1986.

DR. PEDRO F. BARAOIDAN
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me on this 15th day of February, 1986 at Manila, Philippines, affiant exhibiting to me his Res. Cert. No. 5182281 E, issued on July 8, 1985 at Quezon City.

Administering Officer

Republic of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Manila

MEMORANDUM FOR : Commissioners Mario Ortiz, Quirino Marquinez and Ruben Agpalo

F R O M : Attys. Francisco B. Sibayan, Cristeto Limbaco and Felipe Cahayon

S U B J E C T : Initial Fact-Finding Report on the Walk-Out of Thirty (30) Computer Tabulators of the Comelec Tabulation Center at the PICC.

In compliance with your instructions, the undersigned conducted a fact-finding investigation on the walk-out of thirty (30) computer tabulators of the Comelec Tabulation Center at the PICC which occurred on February 9, 1986. We respectfully render our report as follows:

I. PERSONS INTERVIEWED

The following personnel of the Tabulation Center, were interviewed:

1. Eliodoro R. Villanueva
Operation Head

2. Renato P. Pagatpatan
Head, Data Handling Group

3. Emmanuel Francisco
Team Leader, Receiving

4. Yolanda Galang
Transcriber

5. Eustaquio Napagu, Jr.
Team Leader, Telex Receiving Team

II. DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS

1. Affidavit executed by Eliodoro Villanueva, Operation Head, with Annexes "1" to "34";

2. Affidavit executed by Renato Pagatpatan, Head, Data Handling Team, with Annexes "1" to "33";

3. Affidavit executed by Emmanuel Francisco;

4. Affidavit executed by Yolanda Galang;

5. Affidavit executed by Eustaquio Mapagu, Jr.

6. Ninety-two (92) copies of survey form, indetified as Annexes "A" to "A-91".

III. INITIAL FINDINGS

From the interviews of the above-named persons, the following observations can be deduced, to wit:

1. That there was no order from anyone to manipulate the results of the elections in favor of President Ferdinand E. Marcos or to cheat Mrs. Corazon Aquino of her votes;

2. That the walk-out of the thirty (30) technicians was a concerted action after some unruly persons and hecklers have disturbed the proceedings at the Tabulation Center, PICC.

3. That said walk-out was stage-managed and well-planned as shown by the fact that the thirty (30) technicians immediately rode on a passenger van and cars upon leaving the PICC premises, and proceeded to the Redemptorist Church at Baclaran.

4. That several copies of AGGREGATED RETURNS from various places were not yet inputed to the tabulation machines at the time of walk-out. However, these AGGREGATED RETURNS were properly inputed by the remaining technicians on February 10, 1986.

5. That after the walk-out, there was a bunch of telex messages from Regions I and II which were found in the receiving section, and which were not inputed into the processing machines.

This considerably affected the votes of President Marcos because he won heavily in the places where the said telex messages were transmitted. Further, several telex messages were not yet re-transmitted to the various places of origin for correction as they did not contain the number of votes garnered by President Marcos.

6. That the thirty (30) technicians were headed by an active supporter of Mrs. Cory Aquino, Rosalinda Kapunan.

7. That the answers to the survey forms (Annexes "A" to "A-91") distributed to the employees of the COMELEC Tabulation Center at PICC disclose that none of the (92) personnel therein was ever given any instruction to alter the results of the election.

IV. RECOMMENDATION

In view of the foregoing, the undersigned most respectfully recommend as follows:

1. That the thirty (30) technicians namely:

1. Santiago Pulido
2. Rosalinda Kapunan
3. Julieta Lapitan
4. Ma. Theresa de Rivera
5. Myrna Asuncion
6. Ma. Aurora Asuncion
7. Ernesto Alberto
8. Teresita Noberto
9. Marissa Legaspi
10. Rubirosa Macato
11. Marlo Lavin
12. Ma. Corazon Lavin
13. Irma Sunico
14. Ma. Luisa Allarey
15. Evangeline Saludares
16. Ma. Regina Antonio
17. Erlyn Barza
18. Lucina Bautista
19. Ma. Carmina Bergara
20. Ma. Lea Castro
21. Frederick Celestino
22. Charles Chan

23. Ma. Leonora Cruz
24. Ma. Josefina Culiat
25. Dennis Estolas
26. Bella Flor
27. Macarrio Gutierrez
28. Celina Vinoya
29. Ma. Lourdes Vinoya
30. Florence Nitrogen Palamaras

be summoned by the Commission to shed light on the incident relative to their walk-out from the PICC on February 9, 1986; and

2. That appropriate legal actions be taken against the thirty (30) technicians, if warranted by the evidence;

3. That an independent body of private auditors be hired to verify the existence of manipulation and/or cheating if any, in the tabulations of both the Comelec Tabulation Center at the PICC and the Namfrel at the La Salle Greenhills.

Manila, Philippines, February 13, 1986.

Respectfully Submitted:

FACT-FINDING SUB-COMMITTEE

FRANCISCO B. SIBAYAN
Chairman

CRESENCIO J. LINBACO
Member

FELIPE GARAYON
Member

Note: Attached are the documents and papers mentioned in No. 1, page 2 hereof.

COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE WALK-OUT OF COMPUTER/TABULATORS AT THE PHILIPPINE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CENTER

FACTS OF THE CASE

On or about 10:20 P.M. of February 9, 1986, thirty (30) persons employed as Computers/Programmers/Tabulators of the COMELEC Tabulation Center at PICC left their assigned places and marched out of the PICC. Their "walk-out" was preceded by shouts of "CORY, CORY", boos, "WALK-OUT, WALK-OUT" and catcalls against Marcos and general heckling from a portion of the audience at the gallery. They were applauded and cheered when they walked-out of the Center. At the main entrance of PICC, cars and vans appeared to be waiting for them and they were brought to the Redemptorist Church in Baclaran. Their leader and spokesman, Ms. Linda Kapunan answered questions by media representatives and afterwards they were offered and accommodated in a church hostel provided by a priest. The press later on reported that according to Mrs. Kapunan, she sensed something "fishy" when one of the programmers saw some discrepancies between the computer print out of election returns and the figures written on the tally board, showing a slight margin for the Marcos-Tolentino team over the Aquino-Laurel team, which has a slight edge before that. She hinted that there was manipulation of the COMELEC Tabulation.

CREATION OF THE FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE

The above-incident, having been headlined in the newspapers, the Chairman of the Commission on Elections was prompted to create a Fact-Finding Committee, composed of Commissioner Mario D. Ortiz as Chairman and Commissioners Quirino A. Marquinez and Ruben Agpalo as Members. The Fact-Finding Committee then created a sub-committee to conduct an initial investigation and to gather data relative to the reported walk-out of employees at PICC tabulation center. Having performed the duties assigned to it, the sub-committe submitted its report and recommendations to the Fact-Finding Committee, copy of which is hereto attached as Annex "A", together with the annexes in support thereof.

ANALYSIS

On the basis of the data submitted by the sub-committee, as well as the statement executed by Dr. Pedro F. Baraoidan, it has been clearly shown that no order was ever given to any of the personnel at the PICC

Tabulation Center to alter, amend, modify or delay the tabulation of the election results (see Annexes "A" to "A-91" of the sub-committee's report); that some unruly persons and hecklers have disturbed the proceedings at the Tabulation Center at PICC prior to the walk-out, which may have prompted them to stage the same; and that said walk-out appears to be well-planned as shown by the series of events subsequent to the walk-out. Furthermore, the press release of Linda Kapunan, serialized at the Philippine Daily Inquirer, discloses that her allegations relative to the walk-out are based on mere suspicions without solid pieces of evidence to stand on. Moreover, the fact that she refuses until now to heed the call of the COMELEC to shed light on the incident but rather chose to give her version to the alternative press gives rise to the presumption that her true motive and intention is really to discredit and embarass the COMELEC.

On the other hand, on the basis of the statement submitted by Dr. Baraoidan, he categorically denied that there was manipulation in the COMELEC advance tabulation at PICC. He explained that several summaries, or telexes of results with no precinct breakdown, were received by the center. The operating system did not allow for the inclusion in the final tally of telexes which summarize the results for a group of precincts if the votes could not be broken down by precincts. The action that was envisioned in this case was to suspend these summary telexes until the breakdown is available from the Election Registrars. Thus, it would lead to a considerable delay in the tallying of results based on summary telexes. Hence, as required by the exigencies as the summary telexes were large enough to affect the cumulative tally, Dr. Baraoidan requested the Chairman of the COMELEC on February 8, 1986 to allow him to proceed utilizing such summary results with the authority thus given, Dr. Baraoidan then implemented a new system whereby available summary telexes would be incorporated in the final tally at the tabulation board with enough safety measures undertaken to prevent double counting. In the end, unnecessary delay would be prevented without sacrificing the veracity of the tally.

Regrettably, the adverse effects of the premeditated walk-out are immeasurable, not to mention the fact that, after an immediate inventory, systems and program diskettes, program listings, tabulation outputs and some data diskettes were found to be missing. Some members of the "walk-out" group were reported to have carted away with these items. The incident led to the paralyzation of the project for about twenty (20) hours inasmuch as the "walk-out" people had taken even the passwords

needed to enter and use the tabulating computer systems. The recovery operations to bring back the systems into the appropriate processing stream needed at least twelve (12) hours to commence.

It is with great suspicion, therefore, that the computer programming "bugs" or errors which were encountered during the early tabulation could have been put in place by the same "walk-out" group as part of their grand malicious scheme not only to derail the project but also to give the wrong impression that the tabulation is being manipulated.

Furthermore, it is a matter of public knowledge, as repeatedly carried by press reports, that Mrs. Kapunana is the leader and Chief Instigator of the "walk-out" by 30 computer/programmers/tabulators in the evening of February 9, 1986. That the said walk-out appears to have no solid basis because her premise was based merely on assumption, to quote "that she sensed something fishy" which to our mind is more of a product of imagination than real.

Moreover, it is to be noted that there is sufficient basis for the suspicion that the walk-out was pre-planned and deliberate, because it was preceded by chants of "Cory, Cory" and "walk-out, walk-out" and other form of partisan heckling from a group of persons at the gallery of the PICC who also cheered Mrs. Kapunan and her companions when they walked-out, and because there appeared to be a ready fleet of cars and van waiting for them at the entrance of the PICC which took them to the Redemptorist Church at Baclaran where they held a press conference.

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the data, so far gathered, this Committee finds that there is no credible proof whatsoever that a manipulation was made in the tabulation of results at the COMELEC Tabulation Center.

Considering, however, the national significance of the incident, and the probable im pact it would create viz-a-viz the February 7, 1986 Elections, it is our considered view and this Committee hereby submits that the recommendations made by the Sub-Committee be substantially adopted, to wit:

A. That the thirty (30) persons who walked-out be summoned by the Commission to shed light on the incident relative to their walk-out from the PICC on February 9, 1986.

B. That appropriate legal action be taken against them, if warranted by the evidence; and

C. That when so warranted, an independent body of private auditors be created to verify the existence of alleged manipulation at the PICC Tabulation Center.

Manila, February 15, 1986.

Respectfully submitted:

MARIO D. ORTIZ
Commissioner
(Chairman)

QUIRINO A. MARQUINEZ
Commissioner
(Member)

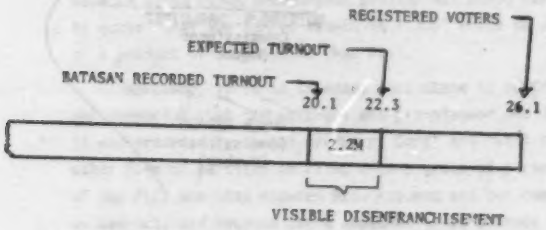
RUBEN AGPALO
Commissioner
(Member)

(Exhibit K)

2nd DRAFT

ANALYSIS OF DISENFRANCHISEMENT

(A) VISIBLE DISENFRANCHISEMENT. The first type of disenfranchisement is arrived at by using the turnout rates for 1981 presidential elections (82.05%) and the 1984 Batasang Pambansa elections (89.13%). An average of voters' turnout for these preceeding national elections is 85.5%. With 26.1 million voters for 1986, the expected turnout should have been 22.3 million voters. Since the Batasan-recorded vote turnout was only 20.1 million, the visible disenfranchisement is about 2.2 million votes.



(B) HIDDEN DISENFRANCHISEMENT. The second type of disenfranchisement is more difficult to estimate because the negative effect is covered up by such vote-addition activities as court inclusion orders, flying/proxy voting, falsification of ballots, ballot box stuffing, inclusion of pre-prepared ballots during the casting and counting stages. As of February 12, 1986, NAMFREL had received a total of 124 reported incidents of this nature, many involving multiple precincts. Numerous reports of ballot box switching and tampering of election returns during the post-election phase has likewise negatively distorted the actual number of registered voters prevented from voting. This case can be illustrated by provinces which did not show a dramatic decrease nor increase in their voters' turnout rate despite rampant reports of disenfranchisement. Essentially what we are saying is that the Batasan-recorded turnout may in fact have been bloated by the fraudulent inclusion of votes and therefore, that the number who actually voted was less than the 20.1 million recorded turnout.

The table below gives rough regional estimates of disenfranchisements as contained in NAMFREL field reports:

REGION	NUMBER*	PER CENT
NCR		15%
Region I		5%
Region II	150,000	20-33%
Region III		6%
Region IV		15-30%
Region V		10-20%
Region VI		10-20%
Region VII	60K-Cebu City	10-20%
Region VIII	60K-Cebu province	9-30%
Region IX		10-14%
Region X		10-15%
Region XI		20-27%
Region XII	rampant in 4 out of 5 provinces in the region	

While these estimates are admittedly tentative, fears expressed regarding mass disenfranchisement gain substantiation from the above figures. Ranging from a low of 5% of the total registered voters (Regions I and III) to a high of 30% (Region II), a discernible trend in other regions tend to cluster within a 10%-to-20% range.

A closer scrutiny of the qualitative data reveals that the extent of disenfranchisement is higher in provinces, cities or municipalities that are known to be opposition bailiwicks. For instance, reports of missing names were rampant all over the NCR and in Cebu City. In KBL-dominated regions like Regions I and VIII, only Baguio City and some parts of Pangasinan had reports of disenfranchisement. In Region VIII, complaints of this nature were recorded in Ormoc City and in Northern Samar. These places are considered as pockets of opposition within KBL stronghold areas.

If we now adopt a moderate field-derived factor of 15% and multiply this by the expected turnout of 85.5% based on the average of the last two national elections (22.3 million), a figure of 3.3 million is derived, representing the estimate of total voters who were disenfranchised. This may not be an

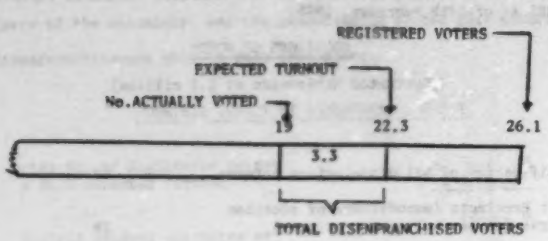
unreasonable figure of total disenfranchised voters considering that as of February 12, 1986, NAMFREL had received 391 eyewitness reports of field incidents that directly resulted in disenfranchised voters. A breakdown of these incidents is given below:

DISENFRANCHISEMENT

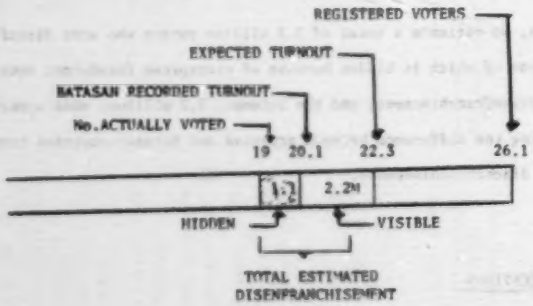
(Removal of voters: 3.3 million estimated)

INCIDENT CLASSIFICATION	NO. OF INCIDENTS REPORTED (involving multiple precincts)
1. INTIMIDATION/VIOLENCE (resulting in removal of voters)	118
2. NAMES MISSING FROM VOTERS' LIST	90
3. BALLOT BOX SNATCHING/FRAUDULENT COUNTING	66
4. PRECINCT/NAME TRANSFERS	46
5. EXCESSIVELY SLOW VOTING PROCESS	18
6. MISSING (OR LATE ARRIVAL OF VOTERS' LIST)	17
7. DESTRUCTION/LACK OF VOTING MATERIALS	13
8. LATE OPENING OF PRECINCTS	12
9. NON-INCLUSION IN VOTERS' LIST DUE TO LACK OF PHOTO	6
10. ABSENT BEI	3
11. EARLY CLOSURE	2
	391

If the 3.3 million estimated total disenfranchised voters were now subtracted from the expected turnout of 22.3 million voters, we derive a figure of 19.0 million voters who actually voted in the 1986 snap presidential elections.



If we now subtract the actual number of estimated voters (19.0 million) from the Batasan-reported turnout of 20.1 million, we derive a figure of 1.1 million which represents the probable total number of added votes previously referred to as the second type (hidden) disenfranchisement. Another way of arriving at this figure is through the superimposition of the above two bar illustrations, as shown below:



The figure of 1.1 million additional votes is made more cogent when we consider the following breakdown of vote addition incidents reported to NAMFREL as of 12th February, 1986:

ADDITIONS OF VOTES

(Estimated Nationwide at 1.1 million)

1.	Falsification of ballots/election returns	52
2.	Ghost Precincts (manufacture of election returns for non-existent precincts)	28
3.	Flying voters (use of multiple Voter's ID in order to vote more than once, sometimes done by truckloads)	23
4.	Proxy voters (others-usually local officials, soldiers vote for the voters)	15
5.	Court Inclusions (last minute court-ordered inclusions of new voters into Voter's list).	5
6.	Dead Voters (dead people are not excluded from Voter'slist)	4
	TOTAL	124

Thus, we estimate a total of 3.3 million voters who were disenfranchised, 1.1 million of which is hidden because of widespread fraudulent vote additions (hidden disenfranchisement) and the balance, 2.2 million, made apparent by computing the difference between expected and Batasan-recorded turnouts (visible disenfranchisement).

(C) IMPLICATIONS

The above disenfranchisement figures reflect the two-pronged strategy employed by the ruling party during the 1986 Presidential elections: a "subtraction" strategy most probably executed prior to election day and involving massive and unprecedented disenfranchisement of 3.3 million voters; and the other, an "addition" strategy of 1.1 million fraudulent vote additions in favor of the incumbent. The impact of this "subtraction-addition" strategy resulted in a multiplication

of advantages for the ruling party, a net margin of 1.5 million votes in favor of the encumbent, and the camouflaging of the real extent of disenfranchisement that in fact took place.

POSSIBLE IMPACT OF DISENFRANCHISEMENT

(A)	Total No. of Registered Voters	26.2 M
	x 85.5 expected turnout	x 85.5
		22.3 M
	x field reports estimates of disenfranchisement	15%
(B)	DISENFRANCHISED VOTERS	3.3 M
	x 20% margin (assuming 60%-40% vote for Mrs. Aquino in opposition territories)	x 20%
(C)	= Margin lost	660,000
(D)	PLUS: Substituted votes for FM	1,100,000
(E)	TOTAL MARGIN LOST by Mrs. Aquino through disenfranchisement	1,760,000

(Exhibit L)

DATA ON THE NUMBER OF PROVINCES, CITIES, MUNICIPALITIES, MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS, PRECINCTS/VOTING CENTERS, REGISTERED VOTERS, VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTING 1946 to 196- ELECTIONS

ELECTION YEAR	PROVINCES	CITIES	MUNICIPALITIES	MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS	PRECINCTS/ VOTING CENTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS	VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED	% OF VOTING
April 23, 1946 (National Election)	50	11	929	242	14,273	2,898,604	2,596,680	89.59%
March 11, 1947 (Plebiscite)					14,441	3,096,413	1,971,159	63.66%
Nov. 11, 1947 (Local & Senatorial Elec.)	50	14	952	222	16,589	4,320,671	3,265,022	75.57%
Nov. 8, 1949 (National Election)	50	21	1,029	189	19,306	5,231,224	3,700,778	70.74%
Nov. 13, 1951 (Local & Senatorial Elec.)	51	27	1,078	182	23,973	4,754,307	4,391,109	92.36%
Nov. 10, 1953 (National Election)	52	28	1,101	165	27,966	5,603,231	4,326,706	77.22%
Nov. 8, 1955 (Local & Senatorial Elec.)	52	28	1,127	167	29,325	6,487,061	5,046,488	77.79%
Nov. 12, 1957 (National Election)	53	29	1,146	171	33,295	6,763,897	5,108,112	75.52%
Nov. 10, 1959 (Local & Senatorial Elec.)	54	31	1,201	107	35,975	7,822,472	6,393,724	81.74%
Nov. 14, 1961 (National Election)	56	37	1,238	104	40,509	8,483,568	6,738,805	79.43%
Nov. 12, 1963 (Local & Senatorial Elec.)	56	40	1,326	50	43,389	9,691,621	7,712,019	79.57%
Nov. 9, 1965 (National Election)	56	41	1,370	34	45,230	9,962,345	7,610,051	76.39%
Nov. 14, 1967 (Local & Senatorial Elections & Plebiscite on Const. Amendment)	65	50	1,379	33	44,988	9,744,604	7,957,019	81.66%
Nov. 11, 1969 (National Election)	66	57	1,403	14	59,975	10,300,898	8,202,793	79.63%
Nov. 10, 1970 (Elec. of Delegates to the Const. Convention)	66	60	1,402	14	59,688	9,811,431	6,682,905	68.11%

ELECTION YEAR	PROVINCES	CITIES	MUNICIPALITIES	MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS	PRECINCT/ VOTING CENTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS	VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED	% OF VOTING
Nov. 8, 1971 (Local & Senatorial Elec.)	67	61	1,430	20	60,601	11,661,909	9,419,568	80.77%
July 27 & 28, 1973 (Referendum)	72	61	1,439	20	54,053	22,883,632 (incl.15 yrs. & below 18 yrs. 2,739,706	19,908,760 incl. 15 yrs & below 18 yrs/ - 2,388,488	87.00%
Feb. 27 & 28, 1975 (Referendum)	72	61	1,440	20	65,801	24,390,269 (incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 yrs. 2,793,013)	23,109,780 (incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 yrs. 2,640,661)	94.75%
Oct. 16 & 17, 1976 (Ref.-Plebiscite)	72	60	1,449	20	66,786	26,167,635 (incl. 15 yrs. & below 18yrs. 3,041,213)	23,740,107 (incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 yrs.-) 2,665,007)	90.72%
Dec. 17, 1977 (Referendum)	72	60	1,459	20	77,604	23,272,088 (incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 yrs. 2,033,476)	22,003,192 (incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 years. 1,009,744)	94.55%
April 7, 1978 (Election if IMP Members)	72	60	1,467	20	80,245	21,464,213	18,356,849	85.52%
May 7, 1979 (Election of Representatives to Sangguniang Pampook Reg. IX & XII)	10	7	181	1	7,749	1,966,822	1,476,637	75.08%
January 30, 1980 (Local Election and Plebiscite)	73	60	1,502	2	80,623	24,881,021	19,081,270	76.69%
April 7, 1981 (Plebiscite)	73	60	1,510	2	80,933	25,611,145	17,700,124	69.11%
June 16, 1981 (Presidential Election and Referendum)	73	60	1,512	2	81,192	26,986,451	21,843,829	80.94%

ELECTION YEAR	PROVINCES	CITIES	MUNICIPALITIES	MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS	PRECINCT/ VOTING CENTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS	VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED	% OF VOTING
May 17, 1982 (Barangay Election)	73	60	1,512	2	83,284	29,087,988	19,298,910	66.34%
June 7, 1982 (Sangguniang Pampook Election-Regions IX and XII	10	7	193	2	9,167	2,782,386	1,828,520	65.72%
January 27, 1984 (National Plebiscite)	73	60	1,532	-	82,575	29,261,240	15,443,834	52.78%
May 14, 1984 (Batasang Pambansa Elec.)	73	60 11(Urb. Cities 49 (Comp. Cities	1,532	-	84,649	24,828,618	22,202,500	89.42%
May Presidential Election							76.8	76.8

NAMFREL INCIDENT REPORT

REPORTED BY: TEJADA
(Surname)
JEREMIAS, V.
(First Name) (MI)

( ) Filing

ADDRESS: #5 SARRAT ILOCOS NORTE
(Number, Street, City/Province.)

TELEPHONE NUMBER:

SOURCE: NAMFREL ( ) PUBLIC ( ) MEDIA ( )

OTHER AFFILIATION(S):

MODE OF COMMUNICATION: ( ) Radio ( ) Telex (X) Personal
( ) Phone ( ) Mail

PERSONS INVOLVED
( ) Military
( ) INL
(X) Officials
( ) Opposition

TYPE OF ACTIVITY
( ) Violence ( ) Flying Voters ( ) NAMFREL rights viol.
(X) Others Coribery, ballot tampering, ballot indelible ink..)
( ) Post voting anomalies (after 3:00 p.m.)

REPORT

REGION: 1 PROVINCE: ILOCOS NORTE CITY/MUNICIPALITY: SARRAT

BARANGAY: POBLACION POLLING PLACE: PRE. # 6, SARRAT CENTRAL SCHOOL, SARRAT

Street Number: ___ Street: ___ Other landmarks: ___

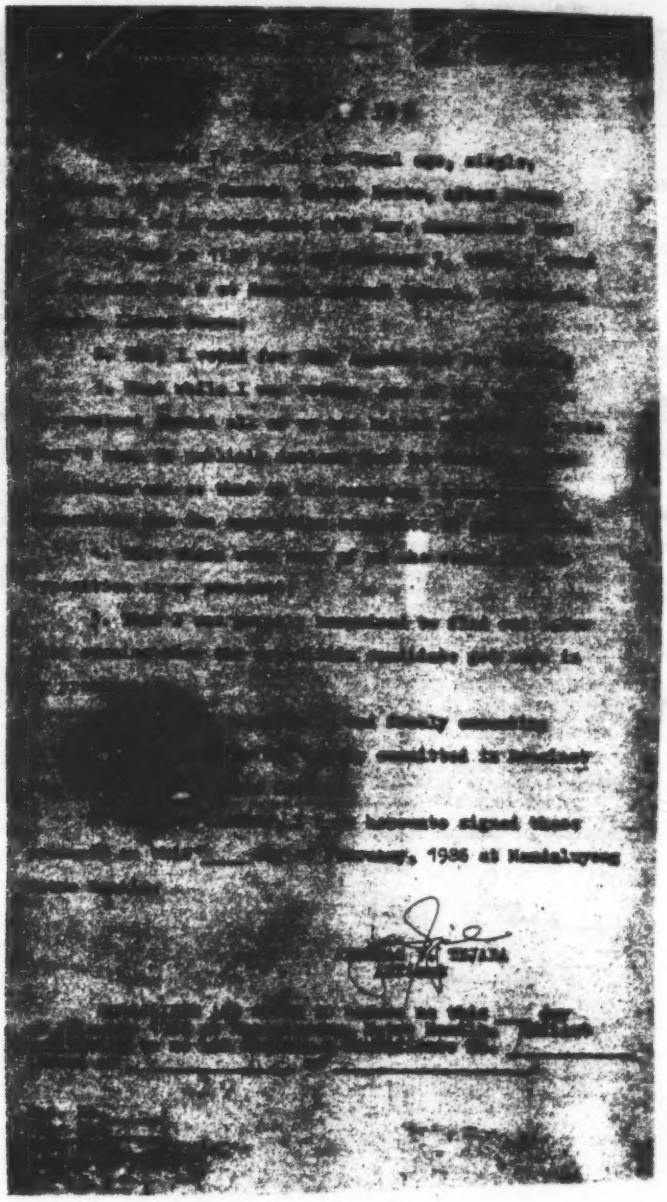
DATE OF INCIDENT: 7 FEB 86 TIME OF INCIDENT: COUNTING OF VOTES

PRECINCT NO(S): 6

DESCRIPTION OF EVENT: OPPOSITION CANDIDATES GARNERED ZERO VOTES WHEN MANY VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED FOR CORY AQUINO AND DOY LAUREL. AFFIDAVIT ATTACHED HERETO.

ACTION REQUESTED: SWORN STATEMENT OF REPORTER TAKEN. (REPORTER REQUESTS THAT HIS REPORT BE MADE CONFIDENTIAL BUT WILL ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE INTERVIEWED BY THE FOREIGN PRESS.)

ACTION TAKEN /RESULT:



Feb[redacted]

NAMFREL
MARIKINA HEADQUARTERS

TRANSMITTAL LETTER

Please receive herewith the lists of those who were not allowed to vote and those who were not able to vote in Barangay Parang, Marikina, Metro Manila because their names cannot be found in the lists of registered voters in their respective precincts. Most of them have their old Voter's ID's, Voter's Affidavits, New Voter's ID's and Letter Notices from Comelec. Despite the fact that petitions were made by several of those named in the attached lists and a court order was obtained by them allowing them to vote, still they were not allowed to vote for the reason that it was already 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon, disregarding Section 150 of Article IV of the Omnibus Election Code and the ruling of Comelec Chairman Victorino A. Savellano.

The lists attached hereto will serve as evidence that the voters were disenfranchised last February 7, 1986 election.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]
Chairman
Barangay Parang Chapter
Marikina, Metro Manila

[redacted]

[redacted] Brgy. Lia St., Bangkal, Makati, MM

No. of registered voters 5,295.00
No. of Voting Centers 13
No. of Voters actually voted 2,759
Percentage of voters actually voted..... 52%

No. of voters where not able to vote.... 2,536 = 48%

[redacted] -
No. of registered voters 2,947
No. of voting centers 8
No. of voters actually voted ..... 1,689 = 57%
No. of voters were not able to vote... 1,258 = 43%

7:00 a.m. a huge crowd came looking for their names in list posted. They went from one voting center to another, few only or 55% actually voted, 45% were not able to vote.

[redacted] tension of those voters, we got or list down their names [redacted] but the others we were not able to [redacted] just went home. [redacted] to go to the Municipal Court [redacted] for inclusion.

[redacted] whose name [redacted] unfortunately [redacted] voted for [redacted] already.

[redacted] some flying voters [redacted] vote after [redacted] the board their identification [redacted] ing the oath. [redacted] voters just left after they were [redacted] In our area [redacted] flying voters, one voting centers [redacted] 75 flying voters [redacted] attempted to vote twice because of our big sign board - [redacted] TO FLYING VOTERS, 1. Do not attempt to vote; Lawyers are roving around ready to challenge you; Your names are already watched by our poll watcher.

[redacted] incident when the Barangay Captain went inside the voting center to vote and after he asked the BEI chairman how many had already voted [redacted] our watcher volunteer challege him right away and the Captain was a bit angry and wanted to challenge back our volunteer so our volunteer called for reinforcement [redacted] Comfrel volunteer in went inside to help and later on the [redacted] also left.

[redacted] during the counting when the vote CORY was [redacted] had a short [redacted] argument but after referring to the Comelec [redacted] election, it was settled right away.

So far as a whole there was no serious problems occured in our area.

Perla Galan

Note:
Duplicate copies were submitted to Area III Coordinator - Dick Casalme -
Pat

(Exhibit N)

UNITED NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION (UNIDO)
8TH FLR., PHILIPPINE BANKING CORPORATION BLDG., AYALA AVE., MAKATI, METRO MANILA
TEL. NOS.: 818-1258; 818-2979

January 30, 1988

The Chairman
Commission on Elections
M a n i l a

THRU: Atty. Jovencio Monleaedo
Provincial Election Supervisor
Igualdad St., Naga City

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I wish to bring to your official attention our findings during the unpacking of the official ballots, election returns, and other election paraphernalia for the Province of Camarines Sur.

I am particularly concerned about the existence of official ballots which were numbered manually with the use of a numbering gadget. The use of these ballots would be violative of the provisions of Sec. 191 of the Omnibus Election Code which considers ballots with separately printed serial numbers as spurious and which prohibits its use except under the conditions prescribed therein.

Furthermore, the discovery of unnumbered official ballots intensifies our apprehension of the possibility of election frauds through the use of these unnumbered ballots.

From the official ballots allocated for Camarines Sur alone about six thousand (6,000) were discovered to be manually numbered. These should be destroyed and replaced immediately with official ballots properly and uniformly numbered.

Considering that official ballots with the said imperfection have already been circulated nationwide, the Commission should take immediate remedial steps to prevent the use of said defective ballots and the proper timely replenishment of the same.

I would appreciate being informed soonest about your decision on the matter.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

LUIS R. VILLAFUERTE
Executive-Vice President

REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE UNPACKING OF OFFICIAL BALLOTS, ELECTION RETURNS AND BALLOT BOXES AT THE PROVINCIAL CAPITOL

I. Packaging -

The Official ballots were packed in twenty-nine (29) boxes. Packing was not by municipality and one (1) box contained ballot boxes for more than one (1) municipality making retrieval by municipality very difficult.

Packaging was not by alphabetical sequence of municipalities and ballots for one (1) municipality were contained in boxes not numbered in numerical sequential order.

II. Official Ballots -

1. Ballots are numbered consecutively from number 1 for each municipality. Numerous ballots were found to be numbered in letters and figures of a different type from those made by mechanical machine printing. Instead, they were numbered obviously with the use of a manual numbering gadget and the imprint of the serial numbers was not done in a uniform manner. It is clear from the appearance of these affected ballots that they were printed without serial numbers and the serial numbers were subsequently printed with the use of a manual number-printing machine. Whole packs of ballots were numbered in this manner. Attached is a summary of the numbers of the ballots for the corresponding municipalities which were manually numbered.

2. Comments: These manually numbered ballots should be considered as spurious and should not be utilized. Section 191 Subsection (a) in the second paragraph provides thus:

> "Ballots with separately printed serial numbers shall be deemed spurious and shall not be utilized by the Board of election inspectors unless the Commission representative shall order their use in writing, stating the reason therefor".

3. Unnumbered official ballots - Unnumbered official ballots have been discovered in the booklets. This gives credence to persistent reports that official ballots are not being printed by only one authorized government printing press.

III. Ballot Boxes -

1. There were Two Hundred Seventy Two (272) ballot boxes received by the Provincial Treasurer which are being allocated to the different municipalities in the province.

2. On the other hand, ballot boxes in the custody of Naga City and other municipalities in Camarines Sur have been remodelled

BALLOT NOS.

3506 14006 12256
3508 14008 12258
3509 14009 12259
1710 5256 15756
1719 5258 15758
1720 5259 15759
1756 13902 7001
1758 6930 7006
1759 6939 7008
9401 6940 7009
7051

BUHI

BALLOT NOS.

1300
6018 23643 9693
6019 23650 9694
6020 23588 9695
998 23589 9696
999 23590 9697
1000 23591 9698
8001-8100 23592 9699
8301-8400 23593 9700
8501-8600 23594 9701-9800
8701-8800 23595 9801-9900
8901-9000 23596 24031
8801-8900 23597 9901-10,000
8601-8700 23598
8401-8500 23599
8101-8200 19611
8201-8300 9688
7801-7900 9689
7701-7800 9690
7601-7700 9691
9692

EGLATAN

BALLOT NOS.

5001
2846 4760 6943
2867 2834
4195 2612
4487 6301 - 6387
4703 6395
6033 445
6070 737
2759 991
4747 992
993

BULAN

BALLOT NOS.

108 240
118 2897
1718 2898
17178 2899
2008 2900
1006 298
1007 2902
1008 2911
1009 299
1010 2918
1011 2919
1012 2920
2103 1248
17779 1249
2189 1250
218 1278
8853 2921
2854 2922
2855 2977

PILI

BALLOT NOS.

1155
1196
5401-5500
5501-5600
5601-5700
5796-
5934
5935
1328
1338
1546
19555
19556
7876
10140
6201-6900
11220
11696
11680
11348
11751
11790
11806
11838
11878
11925
19732
19734
19735
10529
10532
10534
10535
10536

9946
13644
13647
13648
13649
10744
8236
8446
8983
8985
8096
8097
8098
8099
13520
13046
10355
18001-18100
18201-18400
18101-18200
18564
16901-17000
21062
21109
21855
17901-18000
17644
14058
14090
14104
14138
14301
14325
19956
13520
13046
18646
12649
15001
12101-12300
12901-13300

TIGAON

BALLOT NO.

5870
9520

SIPOCOT

BALLOT NO.

17780

SAN FERNANDO

BALLOT NOS.

9001-9019
9040-9089
3251
332
824
7001-7019
7030-7089
6988-7000
4409
7801
4326
1901-1957
1823
1825
1890

FIRUMA

BALLOT NO.

9

TINAMBAC

BALLOT NOS.

10573
1773
12353
7052
17880
5093
15853

FAKE BALLOT with WATERMARK!

Fake because name of municipality is "Pasig" only; whereas, official ballots bear "Pasig, Metro Manila";
Seal is blurred; whereas seal on official ballots are clear.

OFFICIAL BALLOT

CALOOCAN CITY

February 7, 1986

Fill out this ballot secretly inside the voting booth. Do not put any distinctive mark on any part of this ballot.

PRESIDENT: MARCOS

VICE-PRESIDENT: TOLENTINO

OFFICIAL BALLOT

PASIG

February 7, 1986

Fill out this ballot secretly inside the voting booth. Do not put any distinctive mark on any part of this ballot.

PRESIDENT: MARCOS

VICE-PRESIDENT: TOLENTINO

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
PASIG, METRO MANILA...A...) S.S.

SWORN STATEMENT

I, LOLITA NOBLE Y ABALOS FARAON, 30 years of age, Filipino, married and residing at 44 Topaz St., Doña Juana Subdivision, Barangay Rosario, Pasig, Metro Manila, after having been duly sworn to in accordance with law, hereby depose and say:

1. That I am a member of the National Citizens Movement for Free Election (NAMFREL), Pasig Chapter and as such has been appointed School Chairman for Barangay Rosario during the 1986 Snap Presidential Election;

2. That on February 7, 1986, on or about 12:00 noon to 1:00 P.M., I was at the vicinity of Rosario Elementary School, a duly designated polling place under my area of work as a NAMFREL volunteer. That the said polling place has a total of fifty-nine precincts, one of which is Precinct No. 319. That at the said date and time, in front of Precinct No. 319, I observed a suspicious looking man of about 30 years old who had been there peering into the precinct for about five minutes. That I approached the man whom I saw was holding a bunch of white pieces of papers and I inquired as to what he was doing in that precinct. That the man must have recognized me as a NAMFREL volunteer as I was then wearing my NAMFREL T-Shirt and Identification Card. That I noticed that he got scared and was about to leave. It was then that I grab the papers from his hand. That the man darted away and out of the polling place. I called for the other NAMFREL volunteers and we looked for him but he was nowhere to be found. That I examined the papers I got from the man and it was Exhibits 1-10, inclusive, attached to this statement. That Exhibits 1 to 10 were found in the same condition that they are now at present with the names of candidates already written thereon.

3. That I am making this statement voluntarily to attest to the truth of the facts herein contained for whatever legal purposes it may serve.

LOLITA NOBLE Y ABALOS FARAON
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me this 15th day of February, 1986 at Pasig, Metro Manila. Affiant exhibited to me her residence certificate No. [illegible] issued at Pasig, Metro Manila, on [illegible] 198[illegible].

AMBROSIO B. CONCEPCION, JR.
Notary Public
Until December 31, 1986

Doc. No. 1783; Page No. 58;
Book No. IV; Series of 1986.

(Exhibit O)

Republican
National
Committee

E. Mark Braden
Chief Counsel

Michael A. Hess
Randall Davis
Deputy Chief Counsels

February 13, 1986

TO: Professor Allen Weinstein

FROM: Mark Braden MB

SUBJ: THE PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS

I want very briefly to outline to you the observations of the NRIIA/NDI team of which I was a member. The team consisted of Elaine Shocas, Counsel to the Democratic National Committee; Al Graham, Canadian senator; John Loulis, a prominent Greek political scientist and writer; and myself. The team broke up into two groups on election day and visited approximately 35 polling stations, both urban and rural, including some very remote barangays. There is a consensus among all members of the team as to our observations and the analysis which can be drawn therefrom. We felt that we reached sufficient polling locations to provide a representative sampling in the Misamis Occidental region of Mindanao. The election was not, in our observation, fair or free and was not credible to the vast majority of Filipinos with whom we spoke. We personally observed the following activities:

1. Massive organized vote buying. Prices for votes ranged from 25 to 200 pesos. It was not a sporadic activity, but carefully organized throughout all areas which we visited. The primary method used was to make an initial payment to the voter the night before the election providing them

with half the fee for the vote and a device to ensure that a vote bought did, in fact, stay bought. The device consisted of two parts, one part a carbonized NCR paper, and the second piece appeared similar to an official ballot with the names of Marcos and Torrentino printed on it. The voter would take this with him into the polling place, put the ballot on top of it, trace Marcos-Torrentino on the ballot and then return the carbonized sheet in return for the remainder of the payment. We observed this practice at virtually all of the locations we visited. The device used was not, and could not have been manufactured on Mindanao. There seems to be some doubt whether or not it could be produced anywhere in the Philippines.

2. Ghost precincts. Senator Graham and I visited a remote barangay which was deserted. The school in which voting was to take place had been peppered with automatic weapons fire. Although no one was there, the vote came in from that voting station.

3. In another very remote barangay filled with armed individuals, people were signing the poll book, but no ballots were being cast. It appeared to us that the process in this particular location was totally bogus.

4. We took photographs in polling places of money being paid for votes cast. A young 18-year old NAMFREL volunteer also took a photograph of

this activity only to have the camera snatched from her hands and the film exposed by a local barangay captain. In a number of locations, the NAMFREL volunteers were visibly frightened to be seen speaking with us.

5. While talking to opposition leaders outside one polling place, military men rode by in open trucks, armed to the teeth, and wearing Marcos T-shirts. There was no mistaking their message.

6. Elaine and John talked at length with most of the residents of a rural barangay where, the day before the election, the village had been surrounded by armed men, all the inhabitants taken to the central square, and then instructed that if the town did not vote for Marcos, it would be burned to the ground.

7. We went continuously to the regional and provincial Comelec headquarters following the election to witness the canvassing of the results, except that there was no canvassing of results. Everytime we arrived, no matter what hour of the morning, afternoon, or night, they were on recess or on a break. There simply was no official Comelec tabulation of results done in our area even though Philippine law clearly required it.

8. NAMFREL volunteers were thrown out of many polling places by KBL officials.

9. M-16s with Marcos bumper stickers attached. Enough said.

Clearly, I could go on and on giving you numerous credible second-hand accounts of fraud of which we were aware; but, since time is limited, this brief memo can give you an indication of what we directly experienced.

EMB:jd

ASSESSMENT OF SNAP ELECTIONS IN PANGASINAN

VOTE-BUYING: THE BIG DIFFERENCE IN PANGASINAN

The Feb. 7 snap elections in Pangasinan was marred by vote-buying, intimidation, terrorism and harrassment except Western Pangasinan.

On the eve of elections, dole outs in forms of money and food were rampant in the major areas where KBL bigwings reside or control. In some areas, Namfrel volunteers were refused to operate in the precincts. Many voters' names were missing as it was in all precincts in the country. The exclusion of voters' names frustrated many voters for not casting their ballots. Prior to election day, Comelec passes of Namfrel were delayed due to the refusal of local Comelec registrars to sign the permits. What was massive during the election day was the deployment of local officials especially in the barangay areas.

Capping all the related incidents and violations during the elections here are the following:

In Sto. Tomas town, Namfrel and Unido watchers were not allowed to operate in the polling areas.inspite of the deployment of two nuns. It was reported prior to the election that in Sto. Tomas, the mayor had an Operation Zero for Aquino. Apparent threats and intimidation were hurled at people. According to one nun ' there was no election in Sto. Tomas ' as many people were complaining to find their votes not counted by the Comelec in the town.

In Mangaldan where Aquino won over the incumbent, Namfrel volunteers were intruded and terrorized by a group of armed men allegedly led by a certain Mr. Dee. The goons were seen to be carrying M-grams. According to reports, Mr. Dee is a big contractor and a KBL supporter. The Mangaldan Namfrel released its final counts before midnight which made the group angry where Aquino won by more than 5,000 votes, the biggest winning margin for Aquino in the entire Pangasinan. Ruben Abalos, local Namfrel chairman, was being tracked down by the same group the day after the election. He had to seek security in Dagupan City.

In Bayambang, the Namfrel Mobile Team visited the local Comelec registrar to ask for a security to visit a barrio where a terrorist was disturbing the voters. The Comelec registrar was seen drinking white castle whisky along with the town's fiscal in his office. No security was given due to the refusal of the Comelec registrar to issue the permit. The Namfrel Mobile Team proceeded to the Vica Sur without the needed security. In Vica Sur, the election was held in a barangay hall and not in a school. After some snap shots were taken, a man shouted at the Namfrel team and asked them to leave immediately the place. After some tensions, everything was settled.

In Rosales, the town mayor and the policemen were seen visiting polling places until Namfrel Mobile Unit called their attention. But reinforcement from the military had to be secured from the provincial headquarters. At night, the mayor went to Fr. Primo Garcia, the parish priest. The mayor reportedly broke the glasstop and the flower vase and lashed out words on the priest. The mayor was reportedly under the influence of liquor.

In Urdaneta, the Namfrel chapter disclosed that half of the total volunteers backed out when they saw 'good-looking' men roaming around the barangays.

In Dagupan City, the Namfrel volunteers in Bonuen were not allowed to enter the polling places not until 11 am allegedly by City Mayor Ciprismo Monsods. According to reports, the mayor purportedly prevented the Namfrel people to the polling places until the said time. The son of Namfrel official Macarthur Samson was dragged out when he attempted to enter the polling place. Likewise in San Carlos City, a Namfrel volunteer was physically mauled.

Generally the overall results of the elections in Pangasinan was greatly affected by massive vote buying. The town of Malasiqui where it was expected to be the opposition bailiwick produced a big lead for the incumbent due to the reported dole-out money given to the town mayor. The results could have been different if not for vote-buying.

The greatest consolation for Lumfrel in Pangasinan was the full cooperation rendered by Philippine Constabulary- Integrated National Police command in Pangasinan where it rendered assistance in eight situations.

Generally, the election in Pangasinan could be summed up with the words of Ambassador Shahumi " In Asingan there is no place for principles since the people could be bought during elections". In Asingan it happened, so the rest goes in Pangasinan.

OPERATION QUICK COUNT
Association of Computer Enthusiasts for HAMFREL

PROVINCE OF PANGASINAN

TOWN/CITY	NO. OF PRECINTS	precinct tallied	AQUINO	MARCOS	PALAR	LAUREL TOLENTINO
AGNO	30	30	2,315	5,586	276	2,170	5,282
AGUILAR	39	39	4,997	3,824	1,032	4,452	3,744
ALAMINOS	82	82	7,878	13,316	1,994	6,360	12,176
ANDA	32	32	4,008	5,594	624	3,801	5,062
BANI	49	49	4,356	8,721	479	4,351	8,273
BOLINAO	56	55	6,088	9,380	851	6,206	8,226
BUGALLON	53	53	5,951	4,358	1,290	4,529	3,845
BURGOS	21	21	2,045	3,527	316	1,804	3,412
DASOL	26	26	3,330	3,111	349	2,990	2,955
INFANTA	24	24	3,120	3,479	182	2,247	3,250
LABRADOR	18	18	2,870	2,365	1,139	1,998	2,045
LINGAYEN	120	120	13,253	12,491	5,373	11,162	8,999
MABINI	26	26	2,642	2,928	264	2,476	2,621
MAL.	25	25	2,586	3,758	1,267	2,062	2,972
MANGTA	27	27	3,263	4,121	765	2,724	3,395
BINMALEY	72	72	10,770	8,962	5,145	7,206	7,267
MANGATAREM	88	76	9,220	10,164	610	6,963	9,866
URBIZTONDO	43	43	5,286	5,339	838	5,068	4,620
DAGUPAN CITY	230	220	23,841	22,014	10,434	16,581	18,689
SAN CARLOS C	151	151	19,460	19,481	7,202	15,410	16,157
BAYAMBANG	100	100	10,902	15,934	2,868	10,898	13,763
CALASIAO	76	76	12,063	10,823	9,915	5,593	7,387
BALASIQUI	130	130	12,945	18,142	6,184	10,[illegible]	14,108
MANGALDAN	91	91	14,696	9,060	4,560	10,[illegible]	7,937
BAPANBAN	29	29	4,871	4,312	2,612	3,[illegible]	3,497
SAN FABIAN	60	60	6,625	10,272	1,715	5,581	9,656
SAN JACINTO	49	49	5,157	4,245	941	4,855	3,611
STA. BARBARA	57	57	8,243	9,391	5,597	5,255	6,781
ALCALA	45	45	2,909	8,980	264	2,662	8,810
BAUTISTA	27	27	1,880	[illegible],743	243	1,[illegible]	[illegible],258
BINALONAN	53	53	4,710	12,019	1,020	4,453	11,207
LABAC	30	30	1,906	6,967	168	1,[illegible]	6,796
MAMASAN	55	55	6,985	8,898	1,485	6,366	7,993
POZORRUBIO	61	61	6,500	12,014	796	6,217	11,297
SISON	38	38	2,135	10,312	172	2,468	9,747
STO. TOMAS	15	15	0	4,631	9	9	4,613
UMINGAN	147	147	7,697	26,014	1,220	9,[illegible]	24,210
VILLASIS	64	62	2,825	[illegible],221	427	[illegible],831	11,842
ASINGAN	79	79	5,977	11,636	221	[illegible],[illegible]	10,921
BALUNGAO	29	29	2,986	5,733	254	[illegible],768	5,562
NATIVIDAD	27	27	2,035	4,941	431	[illegible],[illegible]	4,814
ROSALES	62	62	3,935	13,415	654	3,605	12,267
SAN MANUEL	49	49	3,466	8,941	775	[illegible],[illegible]	8,273
SAN NICOLAS	41	41	2,545	9,683	408	[illegible],[illegible]	9,155
SAN QUINTIN	31	31	2,420	6,926	295	[illegible],[illegible]	5,283
STA MARIA	40	40	2,595	6,962	255	[illegible],[illegible]	6,682
TAYUG	48	48	4,147	8,763	592	[illegible],[illegible]	8,744
UMINGAN	87	87	6,574	[illegible],[illegible]	922	[illegible],[illegible]	[illegible],[illegible]
PROVINCIAL T	2,832	2,817	281,892	452,864	86,072	239,[illegible]	390,658
% PRECINCT T	99.47%						

(Exhibit P)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
SUPREME COURT
MANILA

February 6, 1986

Gentlemen

Quoted hereunder for your information is a resolution of the Court En Banc dated February 6, 1986

G. R. No. 73568 (Corazon C. Aquino vs. Commission on Elections). At the hearing on the plea for the issuance of a temporary restraining order in this case this morning, Senator Lorenzo Tañada and Atty. Joker P. Arroyo appeared for the petitioner with Senator Tañada arguing for the petitioner, Assistant Solicitors General Eduardo Montenegro, Carlos N. Ortega and Roberto Abad appeared for the respondent with Assistant Solicitor General Montenegro arguing for the respondent. Atty. Arroyo argued in rebuttal.

The Court Resolved to (a) CONSIDER General Fabian C. Ver, petitioner in SPC 5385 before respondent Comelec impleaded as party-respondent and (b) REQUIRE respondents Comelec and General Ver to answer the petition within ten (10) days from notice.

On the application for the issuance of a temporary restraining order, the Court, in order to enable members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, including PC/INP officers and enlisted men, to vote in the polling places nearest their places of assignment as deputies of respondent Comelec, Resolved to ALLOW the said members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, including PC/INP officers and enlisted men, to so vote under the questioned Resolution No. 1768 dated February 5, 1986 under the following additional safeguards, in order to avoid flying voters and multiple voting, which safeguards must be strictly complied with by all concerned:

1) Each of such military voters must show proof of their being registered voters in the precinct of their respective places of legal residence;

2) They must show proof of their being on duty as deputies of the Comelec assigned in the place where they wish to vote, and identify themselves by their serial number and their military unit;

3) They must not be in uniform;

4) They must not carry any firearms;

5) They must vote singly or individually and not in groups;

6) The board of election inspectors shall in every case first satisfy itself that the military voter presenting himself to vote is in fact (a) on official mission at the place where he presents himself to so vote, and (b) is a duly registered voter in the precinct of his legal residence;

7) If the military voter complies with the above requirements, the chairman of the board shall hand him a ballot and allow him to cast his vote;

8) The board shall prepare a separate list of these military voters, which shall contain the name, signature and thumb print of the military voter, his military unit and serial number and the serial number of the ballot used and the precinct where he is duly registered as a voter, which list shall be prepared in six copies and shall also be signed by the chairman and members of the board of inspectors, and shall be distributed in the same manner as election returns under section 214 of the Omnibus Election Code;

9) The ballots so cast by the military voters shall be segregated and upon their being cast shall be temporarily deposited in the compartment for spoiled ballots until ready to be counted and canvassed at the commencement of the counting of the ballots;

10) Only the ballots cast by the regular and duly registered voters of the polling place shall be counted and entered in the election return.

11) The board of inspectors shall make a separate counting of the ballots cast by the military voters and issue a separate certificate in six copies to be distributed in the same manner as the election returns. Said certificate shall be signed by all members of the board of inspectors. Said ballots after being counted by the board of inspectors shall remain separated and wrapped in a separate bundle and placed inside the ballot box; and

12) The number of votes cast for any candidate and the ballots cast by the military voters shall not be included in the canvass nor counted as valid votes for any candidate until after this case shall have been resolved on the merits and resolved in favor of the validity of the questioned Comelec resolution.

The Comelec is ORDERED (1) to cause the publication of this Resolution in the Bulletin Today and Philippine Inquirer issues of tomorrow, February 7, 1986; (2) to cause, immediately upon receipt hereof, the dissemination at regular intervals of its text and conditions over all radio and television stations throughout the country today, February 6, 1986, and tomorrow, February 7, 1986; and (3) to furnish copies hereof to all election registrars and Boards of Election Inspectors throughout the country for their strict compliance. "Aquino, C.J. was absent: Teehankee, J., presided. Concepcion, Jr., Escolin and Alampay, JJ. were absent.

Teehankee, J. filed the following separate statement: "I concur in the Court's Resolution for the purpose of reaching the required eight (8) votes for its approval. I have serious reservations and doubts as to the validity of the questioned Comelec Resolution and lack of fair play which amounts to denial of due process. It is incomprehensible under the Rule of Law how and why a petition of General Ver dated January 10, 1986 would be acted upon at the last hour by the Comelec without notice to petitioner as the party principally affected, without hearing and without the publication therein expressly ordered."

Gutierrez, Jr., concurred in by Abad Santos, J., filed the following separate statement: "I concur in the Court's Resolution so that we can have the necessary number of votes. I, however, express my reservations as to the validity of the questioned Comelec resolution in the light of one of the requirements in Article III of the Constitution that suffrage shall be exercised only by those who have resided in the place where they propose to vote for at least six months before the date of election."

Cuevas, J., filed the following statement: "Although I entertain serious doubts not only as to the validity but more importantly the constitutionality of the questioned Comelec resolution and in order not to prematurely disenfranchise the deputized military officers and enlisted men who could not vote at their voting centers where they are registered due to circumstances not of their own making and to enable them to exercise their sovereign rights of suffrage, I vote to allow said military officers and enlisted men to vote at their respective places of assignment subject to the additional safeguards imposed in the resolution of this Court.

Very truly yours,

(SGD)GLORIA C. PARAS
Clerk of Court

Attys. Lorenzo M. Tañada
& Joker P. Arroyo (x)
Counsel for Petitioner
1149 Tamarind Road, Dasmariñas
Village, Makati, Metro Manila

The Solicitor General (x)
134 Amorsolo Street
Legaspi Village, Makati
Metro Manila

COMELEC (x)
Intramuros, Manila

General Fabian Ver (x)
Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City

(EXHibit Q)

PC officer arrested

Bulletin Today, Feb. 11/16

By ISIDRO M. ROMAN

A Constabulary officer was ordered arrested yesterday as a suspect in the assassination of former Antique Gov. Evelio Javier in front of the provincial capitol in San Jose Tuesday morning.

The officer was identified as Capt. John Paloy of the Antique PC-INP command. He was ordered arrested and disarmed by Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, PC-INP chief and Armed Forces vice chief of staff.

According to the PC, Paloy was identified by eyewitnesses as the leader of the armed group that gunned down Javier at about 10:30 a.m. Tuesday. Javier, 43, was peppered with bullets from M-16 Armalite rifles.

In an order, Ramos told Brig. Gen. Dionisio Tan-Gatue Jr., PC-INP Region 6 commander, to arrest and disarm other military or police personnel linked to the Javier assassination.

One of those implicated was identified as Edgardo Iran alias "Boy Muslim," a dismissed PC soldier who has been sentenced to death in absentia for the gunslaying of newsman Walter Siabronio in Naga City.

Iran, according to reports, worked as a "jueteng collector" for a military officer while assigned to Camarines Sur in the early 1980s.

He escaped from the military police brigade in Camp Aguinaldo while awaiting trial before a military court for the Siabronio slaying.

Ramos warned that any military or police personnel trying to cover up "efforts to bring the killers of Gov. Javier to justice" will be dealt with severely.

He also ordered Tan-Gatue to provide secur-

(Turn to page 24, col. 7)

Assassins' victim

Antique residents look in tears at the body of former Gov. Evelio Javier at the Antique Provincial Hospital. A Constabulary captain has been ordered arrested as suspect in the killing of the opposition leader. (Albert Lee)

continuation not available

Republic of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Manila

OFFICE OF COMMISIONER RAMON H. FELIPE, JR.

1075-23RLD 930AM 72PD PRTYDTRUSHHHHHHH
ILOILOCITY FEB6/86

URGENT
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
MLA
C/O COMMISSIONER RAMON ELIPE

COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
OFFICE OF COM. R. H. FELIPE, JR.
R E C E I V E D Sealed
BY (Illegible)
DATE 2-6 TIME 11 a.m.

LAST SUNDAY IN NORTHERN TOWN OF CULASI I WENT UP MUNICIPAL BUILDING LOOKING FOR COMELEC REGISTRAR. WAS MET AND SURROUNDED BY MORE THAN TWENTY SOLDIERS FRISLING WITH AFMALITES. THEY STARTED CRAKING THEIR GUNS .

REPORTS SAY THERE WERE MORE THAN 50 OF THEM NEW IMPOTS FROM MARINES AND AIR FORCE AND ONE HUNDRED MORE ARE COMING. THEY ARE STAYING IN MUNICIPAL BUILDING. THEY WERE BROUGHT IN BY HELICOPTER AND MILITARY TRUCKS AT THE SAME TIME PACIFICADOR CAMPAIGNED IN CULASI USING MILITARY HELICOPTER.

ON THE WAY TO SAN JOSE, I MET ANOTHER TRUCKLOAD OF UNIFORMED ARMED MEN. ANTIQUE IS TEEMING WITH UNIDENTIFIED ARMED MEN IN UNIFORM WHO MENACE OUR PEOPLE.

HAVE PREVIOUSLY REQUESTED AND AM REITERATING THAT REQUEST FOR OFFICIAL ACTION FROM MANILA. REPEAT FROM MANILA TO BE ASSIGNED TO ANTIQUE AND STAY UNTIL ELECTION RESULTS ARE COMPLETED AND BROUGHT TO MANILA.

IF THIS REQUEST IS NOT GRANTED, I AM AFRAID THE 1984 AMBUSH MASSACRE WILL BE REPEATED AND MORE.

REGARDS

VELIO JAVIER

TPD

COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
OFFICE OF COM. R. H. FELIPE, JR.
R E C E I V E D
BY (Illegible)
DATE 2-6 TIME 2:10 p.m.

(NOTE BY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS: True copy of telegram provided by COMELEC. Text and spelling as shown on original. Original containing additional markings is on file with Committee.)

Listing of [redacted] Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 1 (Exhibit H)

LISTING OF [redacted] VOLUNTEERS INJURED / MISSING / DETAINED / KILLED OR HAVE DIED

BASED ON SUBMITTED REPORTS
AS OF FEBRUARY 13, 1988
TIME OF REPORT: 5 PM

[redacted] VOLUNTEERS INJURED IN THE LINE OF DUTY

SERIAL #	NAME		DESIGNATION	HOW HURT	BY WHOM	PLACE
19	Unidentified		Volunteer	punched	Mayor	Taytay, Rizal.
2307	Unidentified	(117)	Volunteers	fired upon ...minor injuries	Armed men	Sta. Clara ES. Grace Park, Caloocan.
141	Unidentified	(72)	Volunteers (6)	forced outside and beaten up	goons	Tanasan Elem. School Muntinlupa.
421	Vic and Bong Reyno	(3432)	Volunteers	physically injured and beaten up	Canon Cayetano	Bo. San Jose, Mandaluyong.
0	Unidentified		Volunteer	mauled and shot at	goons	Jolo Elem. School, Mandaluyong.
0	Unidentified		Volunteers (2)	beaten up	goons	Mandaluyong.
262	Tony Esteban, Jr.		Volunteer	manhandled	Barroso	Not specified
2816	Unidentified		Volunteer	manhandled	Opp. Captain goons	Near Valley Golf Club
0	Unidentified		Volunteer	punched and harmed	Eusebio Maglanggoy	Mandaluyong
283	Unidentified		Volunteers	harassed and punched	KBL Coordinator KBL Coordinator	Not specified
250	Ding Silva	(2513)	[redacted] Lawyer	forced outside then mauled	Opp. Chairman and goons	Not specified
18	Unidentified		Volunteer	hit in the face	KBL goons	Not specified
179	Unidentified		Volunteers (3)	mauled	heavily armed men	Makati
73	Unidentified		Volunteers	hauled into car and beaten up by 6 persons	goons	Tunasan, Muntinlupa.
264	Unidentified		[redacted] Chairman	beaten up	goons	SF Homes, Las Pinas.
326	Unidentified	(2519)	Volunteers	mauled, pillbox explosion, hospitalized.	goons	Mandaluyong Elem. ES,
88	Unidentified		Volunteers	severely beaten up, hospitalized.	goons	Mandaluyong.
0	Unidentified		Volunteers (2)	shot at	armed men	Pasong Sorsogon.
792	Unidentified		Female Volunteers	attacked	policemen	Makati.
0	Antonio Abano		Volunteer	punched	officials	Pasay.
3822	Willie Rivera	(KFR 92)	[redacted] Chairman	stabbed in front of San Bartolome Church	goons	Tanong, Malabon.
KFR 45	Tony Ventura		Volunteer	choked	Eddie Tagalog	Makati.
468	Unspecified names		Volunteers	beaten up	Makati policemen	Makati Municipal Hall

Listing of [redacted] Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 2

3439 Benjamin Tuazon (256,271)	Volunteer	beaten up	Armed goons connected with the mayor's office		Jala ES, Mandaluyong.
3438 Bro. Stanley Alamara	Volunteer	hit on the head	armed goons		Jala ES, Prct 167-168 Mandaluyong.
BFR 143 Unspecified names	Volunteers	beaten up	goons		Rakati.
BFR 666 Unspecified names	Volunteers	ambushed	goons (R. Pangilinan and E. Tagalog)		Guadalupe Nuevo ES
213 Benedicto Accarraga	Volunteer	beaten up, big cut on the head	goons		Rakati Municipal Hall
643 Richard and Tristo Trinidad	Volunteers	beaten up	goons		Rakati
1321 Nelio Alamy and Others	Volunteers	beaten up	goons, men in plain clothes		Rakati.
Atenco 19Unspecified names (131,2413) Layola (468)	Volunteers	mauled and cameras taken	unspecified		Bayanan
1346 Policarpio Carado	Chairman	shot twice	Bgy. Chairman		Sta. Maria, Tondo
1546 Ida Plaiasta	volunteer	harassed			Region 12, Maguindanao
139 Jun Bautista	volunteer	slapped	Bgy. Captain		Mandaluyong
943 Leonardo Veour	volunteer	shot	Bgy. official		309 Ligaya St., Tondo
2366 Unspecified (BFR 113)	volunteers	ignored and pushed around	unidentified		P. Villanueva Street, Pasay City.
1114 Unspecified refer to:(2921,2914,2526)	volunteers	beaten up	Sevenq Victorino Buddy Pangilinan		Bonifac ES, Cacarong. Bo.Sta. Cruz, Rakati.
2913 Unspecified	volunteers	slapped because of questioning	Tanggol Yabut Campaign officer		Bangkal ES, Rakati
BFR 79 Unspecified	volunteers	sent out and beaten up	KBL member		Sta. Cruz, Mkt.
3604 Unspecified (87)	volunteers	beaten up	KBL Bgy. Captains		Tajoros,B Bambo,
637 Unspecified	volunteer - 1	ambushed	unspecified		Rakati Municipio
2516 Son of Dr. Antonio Estaban refer to:(726,2518)	volunteer	beaten up	Filoomn Serano and thugs		B. Isidro ES, Bo. Isidro, Rakati.
2225 Unspecified refer to:(2222,2223)	photographer	mauled	7 unidentified men		Nalvar ES,Bankal, Rakati.
201 Greg Ariano		held by goons			
280 Chairman of Binayan	Chairman	beaten up, his car was stoned	goons		Binayan, Mandaluyong.
3862 Atty. Zaldaiva refer to:(BFR 13,2305)	[redacted] lawyer	punched in the nose	Bugko dela Cruz Bgy. Captain		Isaac Lopez ES, Tajoras, Mand.
2398 Unspecified	unspecified	harassed and beaten with 2X2	Bgy. Captain		Prec. 21&23-A, Bahagong Bata, Mand.
BFR 29 brother of Victor Naran	volunteer	mauled	Cesar Trinidad Bgy. Captain		Abad Santos ES, Tondo, Manila.
3427 Nan (271)	volunteer	taken at gunpoint but later released money taken	unspecified		Alabang ES, Mun.
2523 Unspecified	volunteers	firing inside precinct,camera taken	14 armed men		Prec. 103, Muntinlupa
2834 Unspecified	volunteers	scuffles with armed police	armed police		San Pablo Bgy Center
2967 Unspecified (2968)	volunteers	scuffles with minor injuries	Mrs. Canete and goons		Villamor Pasay South Heights, Pasy.
2606 Unspecified (348)	7 volunteers	arrested,beaten up,charged and picked up	10-15 riot police		Pasay Municipal Hall
6 Unidentified	volunteers	harassed	Corporal Vida (policeman)		Balangao ES, Bincaga St.,Pasay.
639 Unidentified	volunteers	intimidated	unidentified men in a yellow van		Pasay City Municipio.
2997 Unidentified	volunteers	caligued/heated argument	Bgy. Captain		Zamora Elem. School, Pasy City.
662 Archimedes & Volunteers	co-chairman and	threatened	Pasay City Mayor's henchmen		Pasay City Municipio
764 Unspecified (3434)	[redacted] inspectors	beaten up	Reno Pagcalinawan and Rundi Sta. Ana		Capt.R.Francisco ES Bgy. Sta. Ana,Paterno

Listing of [redacted] Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 3

2360 Unspecified		volunteers	threatened		armed men	P. Gomez, Manila.
92 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed	Bgy. Capt. Jimmy Cleofas and 5 goons		Bgy.Bilanagan,Estanislao Rodriguez ES, NC.
799 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed		KBP. men	San Juan Municipal Hall.
3007 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed		Ervin Apacible and goons	Pedro Cruz Precinct, San Juan.
4307 Unspecified		volunteers	threatened at gunpoint		goons	picture in Malaya
1017 La Union Prov. Chairman		Chairman	threatened		unidentified	Tubao, La Union.
2057 Mars Quesada		In-Charge(North)	helicopter was forced down		unidentified helicopters (2)	Santiago, Isabela.
1211 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed and not allowed inside VC		goons	Concepcion, Tarlac.
1218 Unspecified		volunteers	barricaded		goons	Tarlac, Tarlac.
3110 Unspecified		[redacted] officials and volunteers	harassed		Bgy. Officials	Bruce Martirez, Cavite.
1343 Unspecified	(1809)	volunteers	harassed		driver of Mayor Varata	Anadeo, Trece Martires, Cavite.
1302 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed, sent out		30 armed goons and Assemblyman Luis Yalo	Sta. Cruz, Laguna.
3103 Unspecified		volunteers	refused entry, harassed		Mayor's men	Sitio Malang, Victoria Felix, Riz.
1315 Unspecified	(1308)	volunteers	harassed and punched		Taytay mayor	Taytay, Rizal.
1307 Unspecified		volunteers	confiscated cameras and harassed	Mayor Nicomedes Patiag and goons		Unit I Pilipia ES, Tahunan,Rizal.
276 Unspecified	(3120)	volunteers	harassed and forced out		mayor and goons	Cainta, Rizal.
2390 Baltazar		volunteers	maltreated		KBL reps.	San Mateo, Rizal.
1409 Unspecified	(3217)	volunteers	beaten up	police and market guard		Canarines Sur
141 Unspecified (2)		volunteers	shot		unidentified	Pampang, Sorsogon.
1313 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed, film taken and confiscated		mayor	Guinobal, Ilocio.
1801 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed and manhandled		unidentified men	Danao, Cebu.
553 Alex Yap (son of Chairman)		volunteer	gunned down		Hipot Arradaza	Baybay, Leyte.
2343 Manfrel MD			raided		military men	Baybay, Leyte.
294 Manfrel MD			attacked		military men	Tacloban, Leyte.
1805 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed		CHDF	Diyamon, Bipolog City Zamboanga del Norte
801 Unspecified		volunteers	harassed		mayors	Magsindanao, Malamg, Cotabato.
939 Unspecified		Dist. Chairman for muslim town	busted and 1 muslim munic. chairman		on orders of Ali Dimaporo	Lanao
386 BB Barrera and Berard Singson		Volunteers	stoned		unspecified	Kandaleyong.
695 Unidentified		Volunteers	shot at		armed men	Montalupa.
1 Unidentified		Volunteers	threat,intimidation, terrorism		unspecified	Bunban,Concepcion Capas, Tarlac Pansi,Bulacan.
					military men	Nabalacat,Pampanga. Cabanatuan,N.Ecija.
1 Atty. Conrado Baltazar		Chairman	death threats		unspecified	La Union
1 Unidentified		Volunteers	injuries		unspecified	Bgy. Tubak & Sto. Rosario,San Juan, La Union.
1 Unspecified		Volunteers and BEI	threatened, offered bribes		unspecified	Agoo,La Union.
1 Unspecified		Volunteers	threatened by shooing guns,bullets	KBL watchers		Balaoan,La Union.
1 Unspecified		Volunteers	intimidated		Gov. Dy's men	Isabela.
1 Unspecified		Volunteers	slight injuries		unspecified	Negros Occidental.
1 Unspecified		Volunteers	threatened		unspecified	Bingoog City, Misamis Oriental.
1 Unspecified		Volunteers	harmed		Bgy. Officials	Agusan del Norte

Listing of NAMFREL Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 4

1 Unspecified	Volunteers	Intimidated and harassed	unspecified	Agusan del Norte
1 Unspecified	Volunteers	slapped	unspecified	Cotabato,Bukidnon, Zambales,Surigao Sur.

TOTAL REPORTED CASES 91

NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS DETAINED OR MISSING IN ACTION

SERIAL # NAME	DESIGNATION	HOW HURT	BY WHOM	PLACE
418 Unspecified	volunteer	unspecified	unidentified	Navotas.
702 Mr. Tony Ventura	volunteer	unspecified (arrested)	Makati police	J.P. Rizal cor. EDSA
2936 Unspecified	volunteers	plate no. RAT 432 - green Toyota Corolla	goons	E. Rodrigo St, Makati.
2173 Unspecified	volunteer	arrested while stopping flying voters	plain clothes police	Makati.
1819 Assumption Nun	volunteer	arrested & locked in office	unspecified	Hospital Health Ctr.
4120 Manolo Arasona	strike force to Guadalupe	missing, not yet returned home		Gen. P. Santos, Mkt.
2137 Unspecified (3)	NAMFREL reps.	picked up and snatched IDs	Gov. Faustino Dy	Santiago, Isabela.
2327 Vicente Rosales	volunteer	beaten and arrested	CHDF	Concepcion, Tarlac.
1330 Jimmy Balbazar and 0 Vic Atanacio	Chairman and Secretary	locked in a room and harassed	local officials	San Mateo, Rizal.
551 Unspecified	volunteers	arrested and charged with illegal possession of firearms.	unidentified	Cauayan Island, Cebu.
147 Unidentified	Volunteer	mauled then imprisoned	officials	Not specified
73 Unidentified	Volunteers	beaten up, still missing	goons	Felipe St.,Guadalupe.
1 Unspecified	Volunteers (2)	held inside a polling center	gun of KBL leader	Bgy. Irisan Baguio City
1 Unspecified	Volunteers (3)	arrested	Gov. Dy's men	Isabela.
1 Ferdinand Ebanega	Vice-Chairman	missing		Masinloc,Zambales.
1 Ed Lincoln	Volunteer	had PTF nos. 030221,030024-25 and 27 detained		Negros del Norte.
1 Unidentified	Volunteer	arrested and freed after 3 hours	Mayor Perez	San Miguel, Agusan del Sur.

Listing of [redacted] Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 3

TOTAL CASES REPORTED . 10

MAFREL VOLUNTEERS MURDERED,KILLED OR HAVE DIED IN THE LINE OF DUTY

SERIAL #	NAME	DESIGNATION	HOW SHOT	BY WHOM	PLACE
1334	Dan Saraiento (1222)	MAFREL Vice Chairman for Paracargument due to irregularities	heart attack during a heated	natural	Parac, Pangasinan.
0	Rodrigo Ponce, Jr.	Volunteer	fatally injured from gunshot, died, goons	(police chief)	--
1335	Alexis Panao	volunteer	shot to death after bravely challenging the anomalous counting of ballots		Roxas City, Capiz. Bunawan, Agusan del Sur.

TOTAL CASES REPORTED 3

(Exhibit S)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
PROVINCE OF SORSOGON) S.S.
MUNICIPALITY OF CASIGURAN)
x - - - - - - - - - - - - - x

A F F I D A V I T

I, CRISANTO JUARDE, of legal age, married, Filipino and resident with postal address at Trece Martires, Casiguran, Sorsogon, after having been duly sworn to in accordance with law, depose and say:

1. That I am presently the Barangay Captain of Trece-Martires, Casiguran, Sorsogon and an active KBL leader of said locality;

That at about 10:00 o'clock P.M. on February 6, 1986 along the National Highway while walking in visiting house to house, a jeep stopped by my side and two unidentified men alighted and compronted me and asked me who I am and what I am doing and just told him I am the Barangay Captain. After identifying my self I was told that they know me and that they also know that I am campaigning for the KBL, then they told me to stop campaigning or else something well happened to me.

3. That consequently, dus to fear and apprehensive of the treat on my life, I went home.

4. That this affidavit is executed freely and voluntarily to attest to the truth of the foregoing and for whatever legal purpose it may serve.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 17th day of February, 1986 at Casiguran, Sorsogon, Philippines.

CRISANTO JUARDE
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 17th day of February, 1986 at Casiguran, Sorsogon.

HONESTO J. BORROMEO
(Officer Administering Oath)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
PROVINCE OF SORSOGON) S.S.
MUNICIPALITY OF CASIGURAN)
x - - - - - - - - - - - - x

A F F I D A V I T

I, JOSE HEBRES, of legal age, married, Filipino and resident with postal address at Trece Martires, Casiguran, Sorsogon, after having been duly sworn to in accordance with law, depose and say:

1. That I am presently the Barangay Councilman of Trece-Martires, Casiguran, Sorsogon and an active KBL leader of said locality;

2. That at about 10:00 o'clock P.M. on February 6, 1986 along the National Highway while walking in visiting house to house, ajeep stopped by my side and two unidentified men alighted and compronted me and asked me who I am and what I am doing and just told him I am the Barangay Councilman.of After identifying my self I was told that they know me and that they also know that I am campaigning for the KBL, then they told me to stop campaigning or else something will happened to me.

3. That consequently, due to fear and apprehensive of the treat on my life, I went home.

4. That this affidavit is executed freely and voluntarily to attest to the truth of the foregoing and for whatever legal purpose it may serve.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 9th day of February, 1986 at Casiguran, Sorsogon, Philippines.

JOSE HEBRES
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 9th day of February, 1986 at Casiguran, Sorsogon.

HONESTO V. BORROME
[illegible] Oath]

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MUNICIPAL CANVASS
OF VOTES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION CONDUCTED IN THE ABOVE MUNICIPALITY
ON FEBRUARY 8, 1946 (Exhibit T)

The Election Registrar having duly proclaimed the [illegible] of the Election Registrar commenced the canvass of the votes cast in the aforesaid municipality on February 8, 1946 and continued the same from day to day thereafter until the canvass was completed on February 11, 1946.

The canvass was conducted publicly in the presence of the Municipal Board of Canvassers, the Election Registrar, the representatives of the political parties, and the public. It commenced by opening the envelopes of the Election Returns and calling the entries in said returns in numerical order of the precincts.

In the following precincts, ballots were declared void by the Board of Canvassers for the reasons described below:

[illegible]	No. 2	Ballots,	Snatched by armed men
3.	-do-	4	-do-
5.	-do-	5	-do-
6.	-do-	6	-do-
8.	-do-	8	-do-
9.	-do-	11	-do-
[illegible]	-do-	12	-do-
[illegible]	-do-	14	-do-
17.	-do-	15	-do-
18.	-do-	16	-do-
[illegible]	-do-	18	-do-
[illegible]	-do-	19	-do-
[illegible]	-do-	20	-do-
[illegible]	-do-	21	-do-
[illegible]	-do-

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Intramuros, Manila
OFFICE OF THE REGIONAL ELECTION DIRECTOR
REGION XI, DAVAO CITY

February 13, 1986

The Honorable Chairman
Commission on Elections
Metro Manila

Further areas where the KBL is strong at the

S i r :

In connection with the February 7, 1986 Special Election for President and Vice President in Region XI, please find the Precincts reported by the Election Registrars where there was each a failure of election, the number of registered voters affected in the respective precinct and the corresponding cause/s therefore, to wit:

REGION XI

PROVINCE	CITY/MUN	BARANGAY	PREC. NO.	NO. REG. VOTER
A. DAVAO	a. Pantukan	-Kingking	19	362
	Cause: Ballot box was snatched by unidentified armed terrorists			
		-Napnapan	47	211
	Cause: Board of Election Inspectors failed to arrive at the polling place due to lack of transportation			
	b. Maburturan-Cabesungan		20	412
	Cause: Ballot box was snatched by unidentified armed terrorists			
	c. San Vicente-Sabud		48	164
	Cause: Board of Election Inspectors failed to hold election because of fear of armed terrorists			
		-Doña Josefa	50	85
	Cause: Board of Election Inspectors failed to hold election because of fear of armed terrorists			
		-Malinao	51	72
	Cause: Ballot box and election supplies were snatched by unidentified armed terrorists			

PROVINCE	CITY/MUN	BARANGAY	PREC.NO.	NO.REG.VOTER
	e. San Vicente	- Concepcion	59	119
	Cause: The ballot box and election records were taken by unidentified armed terrorists			
B. DAVAO DEL SUR	d. Malalag	-Mabini	20	434
	Cause: Armed terrorists snatched the ballot box			
		-Mabini	21	292
	Cause: Armed terrorists snatched the ballot box			
C. SURIGAO SUR	e. Bislig	-Tumanan	30	255
	Cause: Armed terrorists burned the ballot box and election records			
		-Caguyao	34	177
	Cause: Armed terrorists burned the ballot box and election records			
D. DAVAO ORIENTAL	f. Baganga	-Mahanub	46	473
	Cause: Ballot box and election records were snatched by unidentified armed terroris			
		-Baculin	16	259
	Cause: Ballot box and election records were snatched by unidentified armed terroris			
	g. DAVAO CITY	-Tapak (Sitio Mirol-o Ilitay)	568	343
	Cause: Ballot box and election records were snatched by armed terrorists			

TOTAL NO. OF PRECINCTS - - 14

TOTAL NO. OF REGISTERED VOTERS AFFECTED - - 3,658

Respectfully submitted for proper information and guidance.

Very respectfully yours,

RESURRECCION Z. BORRA
Regional Election Director

COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
OFFICE OF COM. R. H. FELIPE, JR.
RECEIVED
BY
DATE TIME

(Exhibit U)

Republic of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Manila

In re: Pre-Proclamation controversies in connection with the February 7, 1986 Presidential Elections.

P r e s e n t :

SAVELLANO, Victorino A., Chairman
OPINION, Jaime, Commission
BACUÑGAN, Fróilan M., Commission
FELIPE, Ramon H., Jr., Commission
MARQUINEZ, Quirino A., Commission
ORTIZ, Mario D., Commission
GURO, Mangontawar B., Commission
AGPALO, Ruben E., Commission
LAYOSA, Jaime J., Commission

Promulgated:

February 11, 1986

x - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - x

RESOLUTION NO. 1774

WHEREAS, a number of pre-proclamation cases have been filed either with the local boards of canvassers or with this Commission directly, or on appeal, in connection with the recently concluded February 7, 1986 elections for President and Vice-President;

WHEREAS, the local boards of canvassers have the power to resolve, at their level, all pre-proclamation controversies as defined in Section 241 of the Omnibus Election Code;

WHEREAS, the question that confronts this Commission is whether or not it has jurisdiction to entertain and resolve pre-proclamation controversies involving the inclusion or exclusion of election returns in the canvass of votes by the local boards of canvassers;

WHEREAS, after a thorough study of the matter, this Commission has concluded that it has no jurisdiction to resolve the question of inclusion or exclusion of questioned election returns and that the question comes within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Batasang Pambansa, except as

to matters involving this Commission's power of supervision and control over local boards of canvassers, in view of the following considerations:

1. A pre-proclamation controversy as defined under Section 241 of the Omnibus Election Code refers to any question pertaining to or affecting the proceedings of the board of canvassers or to any matter raised:

(a) When the election returns are delayed, lost or destroyed (Sec. 233, Omnibus Election Code);

(b) When there are material defects in the election returns (Sec. 235, ibid.);

(c) When election returns appear to be tampered with or falsified (Sec. 235, ibid.);

(d) When there are discrepancies in election returns (Sec. 236, ibid.).

Pursuant to Sec. 241 of the Code, a pre-proclamation controversy may be filed directly with this Commission. And as provided for in Section 242 of the Code, the Commission " x x x have exclusive jurisdiction of all pre-proclamation controversies, x x x ".

Section 241 and 242 of the Omnibus Election Code are based on the premise that the local boards of canvassers (provincial, city, and district boards of canvassers) make the proclamation of the winners in an elections. Such election can only refer either to an election for members of the Batasan, or for members of regional assemblies in Regions IX and XII, or for local officials. However, in an election for President and Vice-President, the local boards of canvassers do not proclaim the winners; they merely tabulate the elect-

ion returns and prepare certificates of canvass of votes for transmission to the Batasang Pambansa. Under the Constitution, the sole authority to proclaim the winners in a presidential and vice-presidential election is the Batasang Pambansa.

Since the basic premise of Section 241 of the Code allowing the filing of a pre-proclamation controversy directly with this Commission and of Section 242 vesting in this Commission the exclusive jurisdiction to hear and decide pre-proclamation controversies is absent in the case of election for President and Vice-President, said provisions cannot be invoked to justify assumption by this Commission of the authority to resolve pre-proclamation controversies involving the inclusion or exclusion of disputed election returns.

2. Under the Constitution, the sole and exclusive authority to canvass the votes for President and Vice-President and to proclaim the winners on the basis of such canvass belongs to the Batasang Pambansa. Accordingly, all controversies concerning the canvass of votes should logically be resolved by the Batasan itself and not by another body or tribunal, for to rule otherwise is to have a situation where the latter may conceivably decide against the former, thus bringing about a split jurisdiction not sanctioned by law.

3. Under the Omnibus Election Code, the boards of canvassers may proceed to proclaim the winners in elections for Batasang Pambansa or for local officials even when there are disputed or challenged election returns, so long as the questioned returns will not affect the result of the election. (Sec. 244, last par., Omnibus Election Code). In an

election for President and Vice-President, only the Batasan can ascertain and know whether certain questioned returns will or will not affect the outcome of the election because it is the sole body mandated to canvass the votes for President and Vice-President and to proclaim the winners based thereon. Neither the local boards of canvassers nor this Commission can legally determine whether certain disputed election returns will affect the outcome of the election for President and Vice-President because neither of them has the authority to canvass the over-all votes throughout the country or to proclaim the winners. Hence, only Batasan can resolve controversies affecting such disputed election returns.

4. The role of local boards of canvassers and that of the Commission is merely supportive of the constitutional duty of the Batasang Pambansa to canvass the votes for President and Vice-President and to proclaim the winners. Since its role is merely supportive, and, therefore, subordinate to that of the Batasan, this Commission may not entertain and resolve controversies whose determination partakes of the nature of one which makes this Commission superior to that of the Batasan.

5. The Batasan has already convened as a national board of canvassers. In other words, it has already assumed jurisdiction over all questions and matters involving the canvass of votes for President and Vice-President. Hence, this Commission may not assume such authority as may encroach upon the power and jurisdiction of Batasan over canvass matters.

NOW, THEREFORE, in view of the foregoing, this Commission RESOLVED as follows:

1. To remand to local boards of canvassers all pre-proclamation controversies on cases filed directly with this Commission, with instruction that they immediately resolve them immediately and prepare, without delay, the certificates of canvass of votes for prompt submission to the Batasang Pambansa and that they make a summary, in a separate document, of the disputed election returns and the grounds for their inclusion or exclusion from the certificate of canvass of votes.

2. To refer to the Batasang Pambansa for its consideration, without prejudice to the Commission's expressing its opinions or views on the matter -

(a) All appeals to this Commission from rulings of the local boards of canvassers concerning the inclusion or exclusion of returns; and

(b) All cases pertaining to or affecting the proceedings of the local boards of canvassers.

Let the Assistant Executive Director for Operations implement this resolution.

SO ORDERED.

VICTORINO A. SAVELLANO
Chairman

JAIME OPINION
Commissioner

I concur just to expedite the disposition of these cases, considering that the decision of the Supreme Court in the Aquino case is pending.

FROILAN M. BACUNGAN
Commissioner

RAMON H. FELIPE JR.
Commissioner

QUIRINO N. MARQUINEZ
Commissioner

MARIO D. ORTIZ
Commissioner

MANGONTAWAR B. GURO
Commissioner

RUBEN E. AGPALO
Commissioner

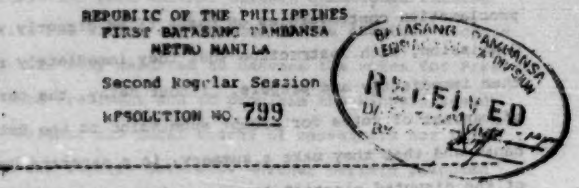
JAIME T. LAYOSA
Commissioner

(Exhibit V)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
FIRST BATASANG PAMBANSA
METRO MANILA

Second Regular Session

RESOLUTION NO. 799



Introduced by Hon. Albano, Britanico, Garcia (M.M.), Asok and Diel

RESOLUTION

PROCLAIMING FERDINAND E. MARCOS AND ARTURO M. TOLENTINO AS THE DULY ELECTED PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES, RESPECTIVELY.

WHEREAS, in pursuance of the provisions of the Constitution, as amended, and of Batas Pambansa Blg. 881, the Speaker, assisted by the Board of Tellers, has canvassed the returns and publicly counted the votes cast at the election for the offices of the President and Vice-President of the Philippines, held last February 7, 1986, and has found that for said office FERDINAND E. MARCOS and ARTURO M. TOLENTINO have received the highest number of votes for the offices of President and Vice-President, respectively: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Batasang Pambansa, By virtue of the result of the canvass of election returns of the election held on February 7, 1986, to proclaim, as it hereby proclaims, FERDINAND E. MARCOS as the duly elected President of the Philippines, and ARTURO M. TOLENTINO as the duly elected Vice-President of the Philippines.

Adopted,

Republic of the Philippines
BATASANG PAMBANSA
Quezon City, Metro Manila

REPORT OF THE SPEAKER TO THE BATASANG PAMBANSA ON THE RECEIPT AND OPENING OF CERTIFICATES OF CANVASS, AND THE COUNTING OF VOTES APPEARING THEREON IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ON FEBRUARY 7, 1986

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 5, Article VII of the Constitution, the pertinent portion of which is hereby quoted, to wit:

"The returns of every election for President, duly certified by the board of canvassers of each province or city, shall be transmitted to the Speaker at the Batasang Pambansa, who shall, not later than thirty days after the day of the election, and in the presence of the Batasang Pambansa open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted.

"The person having the highest number of votes shall be proclaimed elected; but in case two or more shall have an equal and the highest number of votes, one of them shall forthwith be chosen by a vote of a majority of all the Members of the Batasang Pambansa in session assembled,"

the Speaker has the honor to submit the following report:

1. A total of one hundred forty (140) certificates of canvass, duly certified by the Board of Canvassers of each province, city, and district, were received by the Office of the Speaker from February 7 to February 11, 1986.

Copies of the pertinent reports of the Secretary-General of the Batasang Pambansa, who has been tasked to receive, for and in behalf of the Speaker, the said certificates of canvass, are hereto attached as Annex A".

2. On February 10, 1986, the Batasan resumed its session. A Board of Tellers was formed to assist the Speaker in the opening of the certificates of canvass, as well as in the counting of votes cast for President and Vice-President

appearing thereon. The Board of Tellers had four Members from the Majority Party and four Members from the Opposition.

The envelopes containing the certificates of canvass were opened in the presence of the Batasang Pambansa.

In the course of the opening of the envelopes containing the certificates of canvass and the counting of votes appearing on said certificates of canvass, various observations were made by the Members of the Board of Tellers as well as by some Members of the Batasang Pambansa. A tabulation of these observations is hereto attached as Annex "B".

It is worthwhile mentioning that all of the above proceedings were witnessed by the general public and, upon our invitation, by the representatives and legal counsel of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and the representatives and legal counsels of the KBL, the UNIDO, and the Liberal Party.

The Batasang Pambansa also invited representatives of certain groups and organizations, particularly, the NAMFREL, the Integrated Bar of the Philippines, the Rotary Club of the Philippines, the Philippine Jaycees, and the MOVER, to observe the proceedings.

After considering the observations made by the Members of the Board of Tellers and other Members of the Batasang Pambansa, the results of the counting of votes are as follows:

For President:

FERDINAND E. MARCOS	10,807,197
CORAZON C. AQUINO	9,291,716
REUBEN R. CANOY	34,641
NARCISO S. PADILLA	23,851

For Vice-President:

ARTURO M. TOLENTINO . . .	10,134,130
SALVADOR H. LAUREL . . .	9,173,105
EVA ESTRADA KALAW	662,185
ROGER ARIENDA	35,974

The tabulation containing the results of the votes counted by province, city, and district in Metro Manila is hereby attached as Annex "C"

On the basis of the aforementioned results of the votes counted, the Speaker finds that His Excellency, [redacted] garnered the highest number of votes for the position of President of the Philippines, and Honorable Arturo M. Tolentino, MP, garnered the highest number of votes for the position of Vice-President of the Philippines.

Therefore, the Speaker recommends that the Batasang Pambansa proclaim FERDINAND E. MARCOS as the duly elected President of the Philippines and ARTURO M. TOLENTINO as the duly elected Vice-President of the Philippines.

NICANOR B. YRIGUEL
Speaker

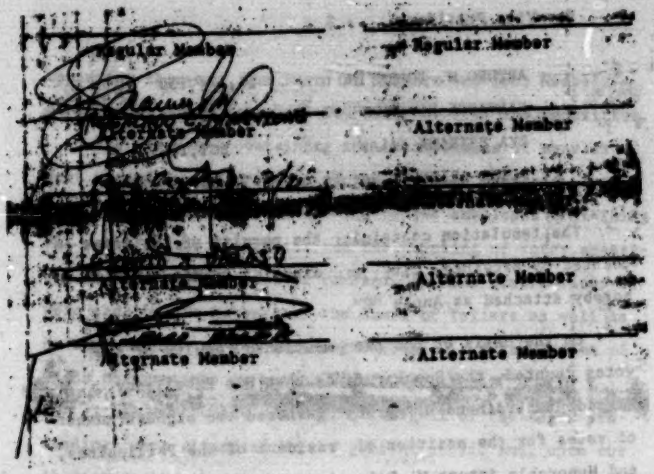
BOARD OF TELLERS

Regular Member

Regular Member

Regular Member

Regular Member


Regular Member
Regular Member
Alternate Member
Alternate Member
Alternate Member
Alternate Member

TO : THE SPEAKER

FROM : THE SECRETARY- GENERAL

RE : NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES OF CANVASS RECEIVED

PURSUANT TO Memorandum Order No. 05-86 (Speaker) dated February 3, 1986, herewith is a report on the number of certificates of canvass received from the various Provincial/City/District Board of Canvassers and the date and time of their receipt by the Office of the Speaker as of 5:00 P.M. today.

Name of Province/City/ District	Date and Time of Receipt
Cavite City	Feb. 8 - 2:05 p.m.
Tagaytay City	8 - 10:37 a.m.
Olongapo City	8 - 12:16 p.m.
Lucena City	8 - 12:30 p.m.
Lipa City	8 - 2:20 p.m.
San Jose City, Nueva Ecija	8 - 2:50 p.m.
Trece Martires City	8 - 5:56 p.m.
Angeles City	8 - 8:20 p.m.
[illegible]	8 - 8:42 p.m.
[illegible]	8 - 9:10 p.m.
[illegible] (2nd Dist., Parañaque)	8 - 9:50 p.m.
Region IV (Batangas)	8 - 10:11 p.m.
Pampanga	9 - 12:11 a.m.
CAVITE PROVINCE	9 - 2:50 p.m.
Muntinlupa, Taguig, Pateros	9 - 3:39 p.m.
Cotabato City	9 - 4:00 p.m.
Capitan City	9 - 5:17 p.m.
General Santos City	9 - 5:41 p.m.
Occidental Mindoro	9 - 6:03 p.m.
Quezon City	9 - 6:21 p.m.
Camiguin Province	9 - 7:10 p.m.
Marinduque	9 - 7:10 p.m.
Bataan	9 - 7:29 p.m.
Pasig& Marikina	9 - 8:05 p.m.
Malabon, Navotas, Valenzuela	10 - 12:31 a.m.
BULACAN	10 - 1:00 a.m.
Batangas City	10 - 9:55 a.m.
Naga City	10 - 10:10 a.m.
Catanduanes	10 - 10:25 a.m.
San Carlos City, Pangasinan	10 - 10:45 a.m.
Laoag City	10 - 11:05 a.m.
ILOCOS NORTE	10 - 11:08 a.m.
Ozamiz City	10 - 11:40 a.m.
Gingoog City	10 - 11:58 a.m.
LA UNION	10 - 12:11 p.m.
BASILAN	10 - 12:50 p.m.

	Oriental City	Feb. 10	- 2:30 p.m.
	Malaybay City	10	- 2:35 p.m.
	NUEVA ECIJA	11	- 2:35 p.m.
	Aurora	10	- 3:42 p.m.
	Mandaue City		- 4:00 p.m.
	Lapu-Lapu City		- 4:05 p.m.
	Toledo city		- 4:04 p.m.
	Siquijor		- 4:20 p.m.
	Ormoc City		- 4:31 p.m.
	Southern Leyte		- 4:37 p.m.
	North Cotabato		- 4:50 p.m.
48.	Davao City		- 4:55 p.m.

For the Speaker's information.

February 10, 1986.

ANTONIO M. DE GUZMAN

REGION / PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT				VICE PRESIDENT				
				MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (UNIDO)	CANOY (SDP)	PADILLA (PDP-LABAN)	TOLENTINO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	SALAN (LP)	OCAMPO (UNIDO)	ARIENDA (PDP-LABAN)
NCR	4,278,410	12,330		1,144,818	1,614,449	784	16,687	1,481,865	1,366,180	219,763		16,909
I	1,949,239	6,480		1236825	431877	282	3399	1273312	394255	96257		3410
II	1,189,565	4,007		856026	139666	111	381	825886	150538	8111		620
III	2,550,935	7,901		1,611,360	1,088,158	846	5,465	1,524,045	920,998	104,957		4,812
IV	3,364,298	10,668		1390804	1425143	736	3831	853600	1691011	58524		5974
V	1,513,201	5,634		433809	761538	258	376	388961	774336	25654		645
VI	2,159,736	7,886		923,682	777,315	346	294	818,818	713,183	36,410		397
VII	1,988,641	6,562		723604	827912	4012	194	790432	799565	7571		417
VIII	1,335,813	5,546		622868	411284	475	213	606648	403660	21931		210
IX	1,279,148	4,410		340,970	365,183	3686	505	531,427	354,808	5,992		568
X	1,455,801	4,632		563547	519861	8244	223	552528	519502	7451		300
XI	1,763,779	5,178		609540	662799	11413	273	599662	635701	37640		1815
XII	1,373,261	4,809		662247	146130	1801	358	601020	375595	12224		944
TOTAL	26,181,829	86,043		10,907,197	9,291,716	34,041	29,684	10,134,130	9,113,105	648,189		35,974

REGION I PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT MARCOS (KBL)	PRESIDENT AQUINO (UNIDO)	PRESIDENT CANOY (SDP)	PRESIDENT PADILLA (NOVOR	VICE PRESIDENT TOLENTINO (KBL)	VICE PRESIDENT LAUREL (UNIDO)	VICE PRESIDENT SALAH (LP)	VICE PRESIDENT UNIDO STUART (UNIDO	VICE PRESIDENT AREA (NO.
ABRA	87,366	340	340	77386	3794	4	17	76233	4441	159		33
BENGUET	115,154	379	379	41756	51826	73	1644	42628	47939	2694		1398
BAGUIO CITY	66,156	243	7	41640	24803	53	740	40937	22363	3137		763
ILOCOS NORTH	197,983	624	761	189897	718	2	6	187440	2430	4302		9
LAOAG CITY	45,775	136	136	43189	888	2	4	42460	1342	208		13
ILOCOS SUR	247,587	960	?	191613	28063	7	17	184184	32917	785		48
LA UNION	264,103	791	?	204844	27480	26	149	197273	31814	2479		205
MT. PROVINCE	46,245	171	119	9803	10664	29	158	9407	10340	410		260
PANGASINAN	757,935	2,455	2455	598138	240565	76	400	357257	208983	68443		593
DAGUPAN CITY	53,992	230	?	32022	23495	10	44	19201	16510	10417		88
SAN CARLOS C	46,941	151	151	18537	19281	0	0	16282	15136	7223		0
TOTAL	1,944,239	6,480		1239825	431877	282	3399	1173312	394255	96257		341

REGION II PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT				VICE PRESIDENT				
				MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (UNIDO)	CANCY (SDP)	RADILLA (NOCM)	TOLENTINO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	RAMOS (LP)	SOTTO (UNIDO)	ANGARA (NOCM)
BATANES	7,022	34	?	2808	2934	2	7	2817	2944	16		10
CAGAYAN	388,976	1,240	1223	275928	42901	18	37	271387	43843	1305		77
KALINGA	51,326	192	?	4742	6600	1	80	4334	6281	589		92
ISABELA	459,837	1,521	?	402860	20072	15	19	394085	21016	1008		161
NUEVA VIZCAYA	133,239	510	490	55847	49734	23	138	51352	52080	1161		211
QUIRINO	42,861	162	160	38415	6739	1	8	29114	13768	88		13
TOTAL	1,183,565	4,007		856626	139666	111	381	825886	150938	8111		620

REGION, CITY, PROVINCE, CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (UNIDO)	LOPEZ (KBL)	PADILLA (NPC)	ROMULO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
BATAAN	196,397	566	551	70744	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	58258	52551	[illegible]	[illegible]	147
BULACAN	630,026	1,823	1823	218432	275738	[illegible]	819	217443	208810	[illegible]	[illegible]	1885
BUKSA, BULACAN	830,876	2,447	1434	222095	111814	[illegible]	116	210492	134169	[illegible]	[illegible]	133
CABANATUAN C.	76,486	231	231	38202	24615	[illegible]	13	36935	24073	[illegible]	62	62
PALAYAN CITY	36,854	36	36	7738	3128	[illegible]	[illegible]	8960	1740	[illegible]	[illegible]	0
SAN JOSE CITY	37,385	114	114	21012	11966	[illegible]	10	18754	10892	[illegible]	[illegible]	27
PAMPANGA	450,807	1,421	1374	114733	243672	[illegible]	456	115287	209700	[illegible]	[illegible]	975
ANGELES CITY	98,044	143	?	19898	49925	[illegible]	100	20997	38766	[illegible]	[illegible]	434
TARLAC	353,416	1,067	1,035	144,990	119,284	[illegible]	14	81,970	13,[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	84
ZAMBALES	159,821	518	?	82782	50161	[illegible]	174	79252	52395	[illegible]	[illegible]	277
OLONGAPO C.	108,844	325	?	48139	13710	[illegible]	97	47287	13291	[illegible]	[illegible]	125
TOTAL	2,950,935	7,901		1,011,760 844960	1,005,151 880930	385 330	2,367 0154	984,045 820045	940,015 800409	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	4,48 4423

15 A 13 A A A 47 NF 44 NC NC

	REGION IV PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT MARCOS (KBL)	PRESIDENT AQUINO (UNIDO)	VICE PRESIDENT LAUREL (UNIDO)	VICE PRESIDENT SALAK (LP)	VICE PRESIDENT TOLENTINO (KBL)	VICE PRESIDENT LAUREL (UNIDO)	VICE PRESIDENT SALAK (LP)	VICE PRESIDENT (UNIDO)	VICE PRESIDENT AREOLA (KBL)
NF	AURORA	49,894	200	?	19,891	19,077	16		18,799	19,56	509		29
NF	BATANGAS	482,645	1,443	?	155,429	236,636	309		31,211	350,54	2,383		497
NF	BATANGAS CITY	77,976	229	?	25,020	41,220	76		5,841	58,02	447		96
NF	LIPA CITY	64,424	206	?	20,525	32,782	43		7,620	41,58	4,153		60
+I	CAVITE	435,446	1,215	1,218	198,574	139,974	789		128,925	147,03	9,881		1,456
A	CAVITE CITY	56,298	170	170	30,221	15,193	158		22,451	15,47	1,244		275
A	TAGAYTAY CITY	11,016	33	33	5,060	3,132	10		3,472	4,630	80		12
A	TRECE MARTIRES CITY	8,749	19	19	7,415	162			6,159	1,202			1
9	LAGUNA	511,084	1,571	1,562	180,409	220,924	904		127,327	257,366	14,795		1,595
NF	SN. PABLO C.	72,788	276	?	22,187	32,902	186		15,206	42,452	1,689		208
A	MARINDUQUE	89,289	287	287	34,464	30,181	25		26,392	46,621	585		58
A	OCC. MINDORO	110,382	337	337	42,917	36,190	30		38,336	39,730	723		69
A	OR. MINDORO	201,895	657	657	71,060	87,142	28		46,220	110,228	1,889		111
NF	PALAWAN	157,136	519	?	39,970	44,742	22		36,056	42,792	223		48
NF	PRTO. PRIN. CESA CITY	41,299	105	?	16,349	15,360	11		15,776	15,554	250		31
NF	QUEZON	464,671	1,823	?	136,312	225,672	378		88,349	266,549	3,880		148
NF	LUCENA CITY	61,991	209	?	20,102	29,039	213		14,517	33,971	933		281
IS	RIZAL	378,786	1,085	1,085	130,335	160,661	651		135,976	137,26	14,891		828
NF	ROMBLON	85,222	104	?	30,619	30,598	8		22,822	41,903	285		34
	TOTAL	3,364,298	10,668		1,100,808	1,425,143	3,831		853,600	1,664,011	58,524		5,974

REGION V PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT MARCOS (KBL)	PRESIDENT AQUINO (UNIDO)	PRESIDENT CANOY (SDP)	PRESIDENT PADILLA (MOVER)	VICE-PRESIDENT TOLENTINO (KBL)	VICE-PRESIDENT LAUREL (UNIDO)	VICE-PRESIDENT SALAM (LP)	VICE-PRESIDENT PIMENTEL (UNIDO)	VICE-PRESIDENT A... (In...
ALBAY	298,882	1,095	?	75354	159210	28	92	67735	153510	12291		13
LEGASPI CITY	50,681	172	?	16547	26900	4	29	15396	26463	1350		5
CAMARINES NOR	142,516	489	484	35698	73965	14	113	33679	75093	596		12
CAMARINES SUR	415,318	1,557	1521	110078	221907			90832	239889	1415		8
IRIGA CITY	32,778	100	?	9250	17758	0	8	8637	18263	116		4
NAGA CITY	50,986	201	?	10874	30090	7	28	8859	31076	290		3
CATANDUANES	78,110	162	162	33984	32342	5	6	33530	32090	875		1
MASBATE	238,572	827	?	72154	100123	167	18	66987	101555	1582		3
SORSOGON	283,353	831	827	69870	98748	13	57	63305	95577	2131		16
TOTAL				433809	761538	258	376	388961	774336	25654		55

REGION VI PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT				VICE PRESIDENT				
				MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (USIDO)	CANOY (SDP)	PADILLA (NOCR	TOLENTINO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	SALAH (LP)	[illegible] (UNIDO)	ARIENZ (NOCR
AKLAN	158,815	311	?	63078	64473	10	24	60148	64708	2137		27
ANTIQUE	168,904	774		65225	71694	23	15	52982	82351	987		25
CAPIZ	180,932	698	692	78130	64078	19	8	73891	65304	1600		21
ROXAS CITY	44,570	154	?	19016	17709	2	18	18134	17228	1138		29
ILOILO	581,797	2,337	2,189	334,617	235,939	168	99	195,818	236,863	12,499		89
ILOILO CITY	147,632	216	?	55287	63708	7	12	51619	59356	7850		31
NEGROS D. NORTE	174,034	585	586	65721	49703	14	9	71106	50289	3610		5
CADIZ CITY	50,115	135	?	36061	2690			29002	4820	39		
SN. CARLOS C.	37,944	134	?	14554	14069	95	4	14690	13637	109		1
SILAY CITY	41,299	135	135	19448	13889	2	0	19311	13413	516		3
NEGROS OCC.	354,412	1,180	1141	156595	97282	80	54	145019	101145	5511		55
BACOLOD CITY	151,525	513	513	52951	85321	13	52	52522	85408	10077		100
BAGO CITY	42,993	131	131	22400	13195	0	6	21634	12798	759		
LA CARLOTA C.	21,760	83	57	9504	4462	3	2	9043	4643	168		2
TOTAL	2,159,736	7 886		901,682	777,318	386	344	814,914	783,183	35,910		371

REGION VII PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT				VICE PRESIDENT				
				MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (UNIDO)	CABOY (SDP)	PADILLA (NPC)	TOLENTINO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	RAZON (LP)	[illegible] (UNIDO)	ARIEDO (NPC)
BOHOL	378,992	1,369	1,365	170,635	154,338	815	108	175,802	151,177	1,514	16	112
TAGBILARAN C	26,361	79		8,767	13,063	64	21	10,782	10,957	150	0	17
CEBU	619,164	2,046	2,038	264,211	249,098	1,224	56	261,461	248,213	1,532	0	43
CEBU CITY	305,087	981		60,748	167,280	745	114	71,266	154,221	2,495	11	128
DAVAO CITY	58,696	147		57,225	342	3	1	57,167	372	6	0	1
LAPU-LAPU C.	53,161	134	134	22,374	21,416	56	6	22,596	20,847	122	0	4
MANDAUE CITY	72,235	202	202	14,352	42,974	158	15	15,905	40,989	340	0	23
TOLEDO CITY	45,298	130	130	14,652	20,671	78	1	14,970	20,051	97	0	2
NEGROS ORIENTAL	314,806	1,052	1,034	113,402	110,187	656	30	113,500	107,354	987	0	41
BAIS CITY	24,879	80		9,080	9,257	38	7	9,200	9,035	18	0	4
CANLAON C.	14,642	43		7,528	3,149	98	0	7,416	3,136	31	0	0
DUMAGUETE C	37,887	150	150	9,963	21,808	55	35	11,708	19,818	214	0	48
SIQUIJOR	37,428	149		20,667	13,449	21	0	20,659	13,375	27	0	2
TOTAL	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	773,604	827,912	4,012	394	790,432	799,565	7,571	27	417

REGION VII PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT				VICE PRESIDENT				
				MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (UNIDO)	CANOY (SDP)	PADILLA (NOCOR)	TOLENTINO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	SALAH (LP)	[illegible] (UNIDO)	[illegible] (NOCOR)
EASTERN SAMAR	134,528	651	590	43,680	53,764	4	3	41,577	52,482	2,627		1
LEYTE	535,694	2,017		300,803	143,261	245	34	296,341	142,647	2,099		42
ORMOC CITY	54,628	201	301	20,895	22,619	97	11	20,616	22,277	218		16
TACLOBAN C.	62,814	211	211	32,809	18,399	10	16	32,481	17,371	1,154		24
NORTHERN SAMAR	165,909	679	650	62,882	50,964	4	15	55,675	52,448	4,675		19
SAMAR	172,634	863	827	68,281	49,069	0	0	63,110	43,484	10,051		0
CALBAYOG C.	48,697	206		24,584	15,850	2	0	24,228	15,255	907		4
SOUTHERN LEYTE	150,919	718		73,934	57,258	113	134	72,620	57,696	230		4
TOTAL	1,425,813	5,346		627,809	411,284	475	213	606,648	403,660	21,931		110

189

REGION IX PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT MARCOS (KBL)	PRESIDENT ARTIZO (UNIDO)	PRESIDENT TADOY (SDP)	PRESIDENT PADILLA (NEDTUR)	VICE PRESIDENT LAURESTINO (KBL)	VICE PRESIDENT LAUREL (UNIDO)	VICE PRESIDENT SALAN (LP)	VICE PRESIDENT [illegible] (UNIDO)	VICE PRESIDENT APIE (NLT)
A	[illegible]	49	48	4,377	648	0	0	4,126	784	48		0
1B. BASILAN	92,481	345	329	22,387	30,005	11	16	27,300	29,292	485	5	22
2B. SULU	229,282	661	634	128,854	34,337	22	20	125,083	36,651	179	0	17
A. TAWI-TAWI	79,723	287	287	65,096	11,339	9	5	59,875	12,175	552	2	4
9B. ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	210,102	805	757	94,509	53,221	953	29	91,862	54,177	393	0	45
NP- DAPITAN CITY	27,409	100		12,485	9,559	210	5	12,566	9,262	60	0	3
1. DIPOLOG CITY	34,417	132	131	11,894	15,658	157	7	12,623	14,651	205	0	12
A. ZAMBOANGA SUR	370,741	1,336	1,336	138,116	123,075	2,041	116	133,126	125,044	1,166	70	77
A. PAGADIAN C.	43,554	157	157	14,009	17,219	259	2	14,258	16,636	205	0	12
A. ZAMBOANGA C.	183,440	587	587	48,943	70,136	24	305	55,638	60,830	1,935	9	371
TOTAL	1,219,149	4,410		540,870 546,895	369,195 164,640	3,686 1,686	505 505	531,487 537,391	359,503 350,918	8,198 5,188		

140

REGION X PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT				VICE PRESIDENT				
				MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (UNIDO)	CANOY (SDP)	PADILLA (MOTOR	TOLENTINO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	SALAH (LP)	[illegible] UNIDO	ARIENDA (MOTOR
AGUSAN DEL NOR.	102,132	304	284	45,587	32,928	209	10	44,828	33,018	318	0	18
BUTUAN CITY	102,569	291	291	33,866	40,660	533	23	34,339	39,225	990	0	23
AGUSAN DEL SUR	137,939	467	467	58,375	43,436	996	14	56,988	43,944	340	0	55
MISAMIS OCC.	309,046	928	916	115,176	113,224	2,506	46	113,085	113,693	1,316	37	41
CAMIGUIN	30,434	91		11,140	15,487	97	2	10,660	15,299	674	1	3
MISAMIS OCC.	113,845	450	447	51,758	41,470	526	8	50,573	41,842	346	0	11
OROQUIETA C.	25,486	90		8,812	12,919	175	6	8,782	12,843	84	0	5
OZAMIZ CITY	45,023	136		12,978	21,925	221	13	10,161	24,571	176	0	18
TANGUB CITY	19,210	70	70	5,130	11,302	39	2	5,122	11,250	18	0	0
MISAMIS OR.	186,717	573		81,962	60,889	1,595	49	79,101	61,204	798	0	49
CAGAYAN OR.	149,116	404	278	31,336	43,377	1,104	40	33,941	40,372	1,032	0	58
GINGOOG CITY	39,238	152		17,967	13,818	102	0	17,447	13,926	77	0	2
SURIGAO NORTE	149,801	530		76,541	47,202	71	7	74,454	48,119	547	0	9
SURIGAO CITY	43,245	146	146	12,919	21,204	70	3	13,107	20,198	735	0	8
TOTAL	1,455,901	4,632		563,547	519,841	8,244	223	552,528	519,502	7,451	38	309

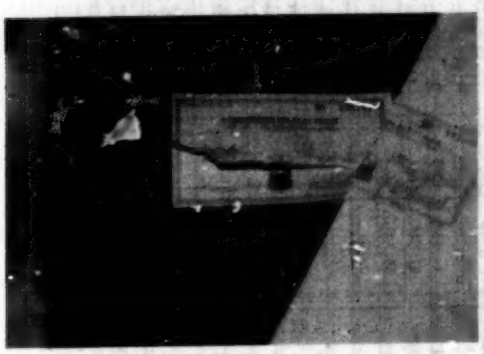
REGION XI PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT				VICE PRESIDENT				
				MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (UNIDO)	SABOY (SDP)	PADILLA (NPC)	POLENTINO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	KALAW (LP)	[illegible] (UNIDO)	ARIEN. (NPC)
DAVAO DEL NORTE	415,005	1,198	1,190	168,720	142,607	5,386	82	162,444	147,857	2,454	116	167
DAVAO ORIENTAL	164,233	497	497	45,489	69,423	1,430	49	43,188	70,938	1,145	0	71
DAVAO D. SUR	241,533	716	712	106,299	77,160	1,630	43	103,820	77,337	1,383	52	129
DAVAO CITY	161,636	1,075	1,070	120,314	142,828	4,026	311	128,435	127,955	7,579	0	534
SOUTH COTABATO	289,175	866	833	88,091	115,629	489	141	81,715	103,642	18,822	0	469
GEN. SANTOS C.	89,113	253	253	22,131	37,158	88	104	21,796	31,208	5,798	0	284
SURIGAO D. SUR	136,984	573	568	58,496	77,994	364	43	58,064	76,957	389	0	99
TOTAL	1,751,[illegible]	[illegible]178		609,540	662,799	13,413	773	599,462	635,701	37,640	148	1,[illegible]

SA 45 77 A 5

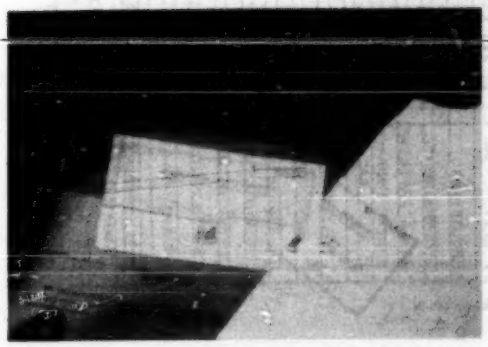
REGION XII PROVINCE/CITY	REG. NO. OF VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED	PRESIDENT				VICE PRESIDENT				
				MARCOS (KBL)	AQUINO (UNIDO)	CANOY (SDP)	PADILLA (NOTOR)	TOLENTINO (KBL)	LAUREL (UNIDO)	SALAS (LP)	[illegible] (UNIDO)	ARIÑO (NOTOR)
LANAO DEL NORTE	189,791	649		100,383	44,070	422	22	94,619	45,890	297	0	37
ILIGAN CITY	95,602	279	279	24,965	44,040	820	57	29,890	38,756	579	0	114
LANAO DEL SUR	242,164	1,357		191,755	28,676	14	1	159,339	54,226	356	19	17
MARAWI CITY	39,454	154		16,705	10,829	17	25	14,456	14,755	176		32
MAGUINDANAO	332,575	928	859	182,320	57,864	108	56	157,944	70,162	3,989	154	138
COTABATO C.	49,044	150	150	8,803	18,931	15	17	10,111	16,930	565	0	61
NORTH COTABATO	283,009	873	868	83,869	100,515	293	139	81,789	97,645	2,956	0	408
SULTAN KUDARAT	141,622	419	419	53,949	41,405	114	48	52,872	38,731	3,368	0	138
TOTAL	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	866,774	535,530	1,911	358	601,020	575,595	12,224	173	943

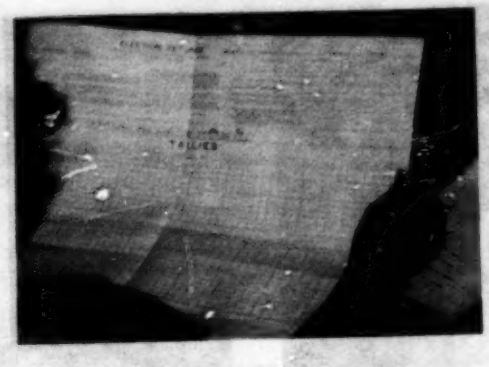
148

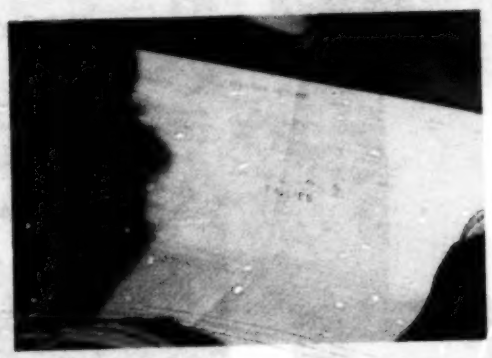
(Exhibit 8)

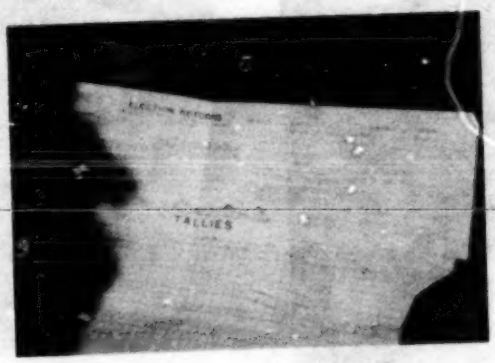


* Fold of envelope seals does not fully cover the recessed vacuum seal.

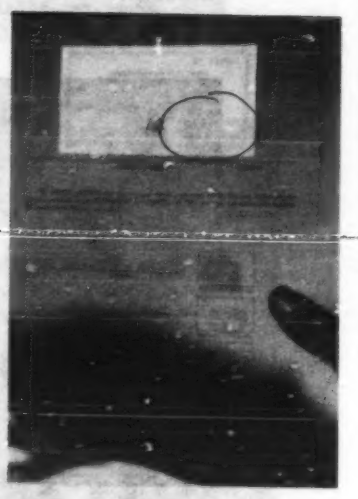








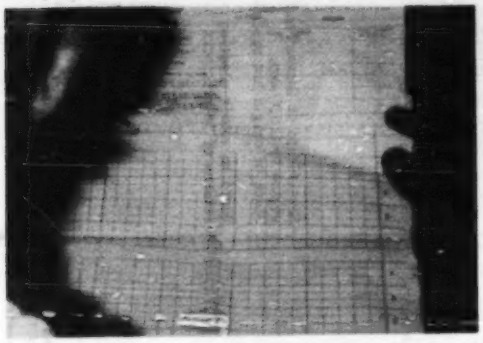
DEFECTIVE ELECTION RETURNS:
: NO SIGNATURE
: NO THUMBMARK



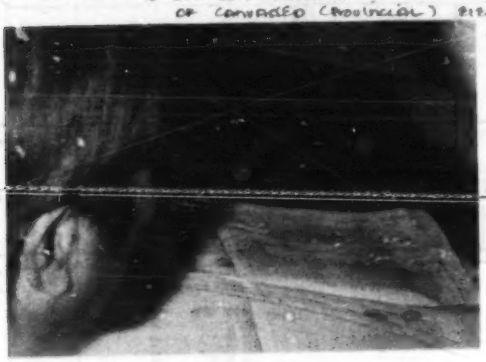
DEFECTIVE ELECTION RETURNS

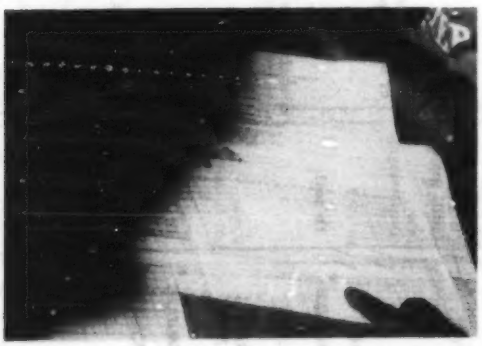
ENVELOPES:

- NO SIGNATURE, OR SEAL
- NO ENDORSEMENT OF UNITED INSPECTORS



* ELECTION RETURNS IN THE LOWER LOG: 10-15% OF COMPARED (PROVINCIAL) ELECTION RETURNS DOES LOWER LOG.





← NO THUMBMARK : NO THUMBPRINT : NOT OFFICIAL COPY.

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
N C E							
MANILA *	No seal						
QUEZON CITY *						Erasures	
CALOOCAN CITY *	No signature of UNIDO Rep. appeal				Not specified		Place of origin not specified.
PASAY CITY *		No signature of UNIDO rep.					
PASIG/MARIKINA *				Questioned			
LAS PIÑAS/PARAÑAQUE *	No seal						
MAKATI *		No signature of UNIDO rep.					Certificate of Canvass not signed by UNIDO Rep. Place of origin not specif
MALABON/NAVOTAS/ VALENZUELA *					Incomplete		Board to submit election returns of 56 precincts
SAN JUAN/MANDALUYONG *	No seal						
PASIG/PATEROS/MONTINLUPA *		No signature of Bd. rep.					

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION I							
ABRA *	No seal		Questioned	Questioned			
BENGUET *	No seal						
BAGUIO CITY *	Not properly sealed		Erasures & alterations				
ILOCOS NORTE *		No signature of UNIDO rep.			No. of precincts exceeds COMELEC figure		
LAOAG CITY *	No seal			Questioned			
ILOCOS SUR *	Green masking tape				Not specified	Alterations	Place not specified. UNIDO copy does not contain names of 3 Board Members; original signatures of Members in UNIDO copy.
LA UNION *	No seal			Questioned		Alterations	
MT. PROVINCE *					Incomplete		Discrepancies in signature of the Members of Board of Canvassers with KBL copy.
PANGASINAN *	Not properly sealed						
DAGUPAN CITY *	No seal				Not specified		Place of origin not specified.
SAN CARLOS CITY		UNIDO Rep. not duly authorized					

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION II							
BATANES *					Not specified	Erasures	
CAGAYAN *			Questioned		Incomplete	Erasures	Secure COMELEC copy of Certificate of Canvass.
IFUGAO *	No seal				Not specified		
ISABELA *	No official seal	No signature of UNIDO rep.			Not specified		Place not specified
KALINGA-APAYAO *	No seal & not properly folded	No signature of UNIDO rep.			Not specified		
NUEVA VIZCAYA *	Not properly sealed						
QUIRINO *		No signature of UNIDO rep.				Erasures/alterations	COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canvass.

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION III							
BATAAN *					Incomplete		COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canvass.
BULACAN *							
NUEVA ECIJA *						Alterations	
CABANATUAN CITY *	No official seal & not properly folded					Erasures	
PALAYAN CITY *	Improvised seal used					Superimposi-tions	
SAN JOSE CITY *	Not properly sealed						
PAMPANGA *						Erasures	COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canvass.
ANGELES CITY *	No seal					Erasures/ alterations	
TARLAC	No official seal	No signature & thumbmark of UNIDO Rep.			Incomplete returns		Subject of pre-proclamation protest with COMELEC.
ZAMBALES *					No election returns in 2 precincts		
OLONGAPO CITY *	No seal & not properly folded				Not specified	Superimposi-tions	

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION IV							
AURORA *	No seal				Incomplete	Erasures	
BATANGAS *	No seal					Erasures & alterations	
BATANGAS CITY *	No seal				Not specified		
LIPA CITY *	Improvised seal		Questioned		Incompete returns for some candidates		
CAVITE *						Superimpositions	UNIDO Rep. refused to sign & submitted appeal to Speaker for exclusion of certain precincts.
CAVITE CITY *	No seal & not properly folded					Superimpositions	Subject of an appeal to COMELEC.
TAGAYTAY CITY *	No seal					Alterations on supporting documents	
TRECE MARTIRES CITY *		UNIDO Rep. did not sign certificate					
LAGUNA *		No signature of UNIDO rep.			Incomplete		Board of Canvasser to submit missing returns.
SAN PABLO CITY *	No seal						
MARINDUQUE							

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION IV (CONT.)							
OCCIDENTAL MINDORO *	No seal					Superimpositions	
ORIENTAL MINDORO *	No seal & not properly folded						
PALAWAN *						Superimpositions	
PTO. PRINCESA CITY *	No seal						
QUEZON *						Superimpositions	
LUCENA CITY *	No seal					Superimpositions on entries for UNIDO candidates	
RIZAL *	Not properly sealed						Signatures of Members of Board of Canvassers appear not to be genuine.
ROMBLON *						Alterations	

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION V							
ALBAY *	No seal						
LEGASPI CITY *	No seal				Not specified		Place of origin not specified.
CAMARINES NORTE *					Incomplete	Alterations	COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canvass.
CAMARINES SUR *						Superimpositions	Secure COMELEC copy of Certificate of Canvass.
IRIGA CITY *	No seal & not properly folded				Not specified		Place not specified.
NAGA CITY *					Not specified		Signatures of Board of Canvassers Members not genuine.
CATANDUANES							
MASBATE *	No seal						
SORSOGON *	Not sealed						

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION VI							
AKLAN *					Not specified	Erasures	
ANTIQUE *							Signatures not genuine.
CAPIZ *	No seal				Not complete		Manifested general objections.
ROXAS CITY *	Not sealed					Corrections on entries for Laurel	
ILOILO *	No seal					Superimpositions	
ILOILO CITY *					Not specified	Insertions	Place not specified.
NEGROS DEL NORTE *		UNIDO Rep. not duly authorized					
CADIZ CITY *	No seal	UNIDO Rep. not duly authorized			Not specified		Place not specified.
SAN CARLOS CITY *	No seal				Not specified		Place of origin not specified.
SILAY CITY *	No seal	UNIDO Rep. not authorized					
NEGROS OCCIDENTAL *	No seal				Incomplete		Board of Canvassers to submit missing returns.
[illegible] *			[illegible] members of Board of Canvassers.				

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION VI (CONT.)							
IMOD CITY	No seal				Incomplete returns; some candidates		
LA CARLOTA CITY					Incomplete returns	Tampering	

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY-RED	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION VII							
BOHOL*					Incomplete		Board to submit electn returns of other precin
TAGBILARAN CITY*	No seal & not properly folded				Not specified		Place of origin not specified
CEBU*	Not properly sealed & folded				Returns of 6 precincts missing		Board to submit missing returns
CEBU CITY*					Not specified		
DANAO CITY	Improvised seal	UNIDO rep. did not participate					Place of origin not specified. Votes tallied exceed population.
LAPU-LAPU CITY*	No seal				Only 123 precints reported		
MANDAUE CITY*	No seal						Signature of Members of Board appears not genuine
TOLEDO CITY*	No seal						
NEGROS ORIENTAL*					Incomplete		Board to submit missing returns
BAIS CITY*	No seal						
CANLAON CITY*							
[illegible]	[illegible]						
SIQUIJOR*	No seal				Not specified		

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL*	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION VIII							
EASTERN SAMAR*	Improvised seal						Improvised Certific of Canvass
LEYTE*					Incomplete		Board to submit retur from missing precints
ORMOC CITY*	No seal				Not specified		Not properly prepared
TACLOBAN CITY*	Not properly sealed					Erasures & alterations	
NORTHERN SAMAR*					Returns in 29 precints not included		Board to submit missi returns
SAMAR*	No seal				Incomplete	Erasures	Board to submit missi returns
CALBAYOG CITY*	No seal	No signature of UNIDO Rep.					Place of origin not specified
SOUTHERN LEYTE*		No signature of UNIDO Rep.			Not specified		

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION IX							
BASILAN*	No seal	No signature of UNIDO Rep.			Incomplete		Board to submit mi. returns
SULU*	No seal & not properly folded			Questioned	Incomplete		UNIDO Rep. signed ce.. ficate under protest
TAWI-TAWI*		No signature of UNIDO rep.					
ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE*						Superimposi-tions	Doubt on genuiness of signatures of Members of Board of Canvassers
DAPITAN CITY*		No signature of UNIDO rep			Not specified	Erasures	
DIPOLOG CITY*							
ZAMBOANGA SUR*	No signature on seal		Questioned				
PAGADIAN CITY*						Alterations in votes for Aquino	COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canva
ZAMBOANGA CITY*						Superimposi-tions	

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
EGION X							
AGUSAN DEL NORTE*					Incomplete		Board to submit missi returns
BUTUAN CITY*	No seal						
AGUSAN DEL SUR*				Questioned			
BUKIDNON*					Incomplete		Board to submit missi returns
CAMIGUIN*					Not specified		
MISAMIS OCC.*	No seal	UNIDO Rep. not duly authorized					
OROQUIETA CITY*	No seal						
OZAMIZ CITY*	No seal						
TANGUB CITY*	Improvised seal						
MISAMIS ORIENTAL*	No seal						
CAGAYAN DE ORO C.*	Improvised seal				Incomplete returns		
GINGOOG CITY*	No seal		Questioned				
SURIGAO NORTE*							Illegality of canvass proceedings, protest with COMELEC
SURIGAO CITY*	No seal & not properly folded						

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION XI							
DAVAO DEL NORTE*	No seal						
DAVAO ORIENTAL*			KBL representative signature			Alterations	COMELECT to submit cc of Certificate of Can
DAVAO DEL SUR*	Not properly sealed				Incomplete		Board to submit missin returns
DAVAO CITY*						Erasures in votes of KBL candidates	COMELEC to submit cop of Certificate of Can
SOUTH COTABATO*							Reservation on genuin of signature of Board Members
GEN. SANTOS CITY*	Not properly sealed					Erasures	
SURIGAO DEL SUR*							Discrepancies in signa ture of the Members o Board of Canvassers wi KBL copy

69-867 O - 86 - 7

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

PROVINCES/CITIES	SEAL	SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP.	AUTHENTICITY	STATISTICAL PROBABILITY	PRECINCTS REPORTED	ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS	OTHERS
REGION XII							
LANAO DEL NORTE*					Not specified		Dissenting opinion of UNIDO Rep. attached
ILIGAN CITY*	No seal & not properly folded						
LANAO DEL SUR*		No signature of UNIDO rep.				Alterations	
MARAWI CITY*	Not properly folded					Erasures	Place not specified
MAGUINDANAO*		No signature of UNIDO rep.			Incomplete		Board to submit missing returns
COTABATO CITY*						Erasures in names of KBL rep.	
NORTH COTABATO*	No seal & not properly folded						No signature of Board of Canvasser Chairman
SULTAN KUDARAT*							UNIDO Rep. signed certificate under protes

(Exhibit X)

THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY ANALYSIS OF THE OFFICIAL CANVASS OF VOTES CONDUCTED BY THE BATASANG PAMBANSA RELEASED UNDER RESOLUTION NUMBER 799 "PROCLAIMING FERDINAND E. MARCOS & ARTURO M. TOLENTINO AS THE DULY ELECTED PRESIDENT & VICE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES, RESPECTIVELY"

The Center for Democracy's analysis of the official Canvass of Votes conducted by the Batasang Pambansa (Philippines Parliament), following the February 7, 1986 presidential election, reviews the thouroughness and accuracy of the proceedures employed by that body in tabulating the country's precincts.

The Batasan canvassed votes by provinces and cities, with tallies supposedly certified by election registrars at that level. In a number of those official tallies, the Batasan failed to account for the exact number of precincts within a province or city (Columns A, B & C). This lead to under-counting or, in some instances, even over-counting. In numerous cases, the certified Batasan national tally did not indicate any figure whatsoever for the precincts tallied that could be matched with the official number of precincts for that province or city.

Of the 138 provinces and cities (broken down in the Batasan's count and in this analysis by the country's thirteen voting regions: I-XII and the National Capitol Region), only in 38 were all the precincts tabulated exactly. In 47, there were significant precinct commissions or additions, and in 53 no precinct figures were provided.

Under the circumstances, the Batasan figures do not meet the requirements set out in the Philippine Electoral Code (BATAS PAMBANSA BLG 881; Art. 2, Sec. 15). In this analysis, the official Batasan Canvass of Votes must be regarded as less reliable than the NAMFREL exact tally based on signed precinct returns from 75-80% of the country's precincts.

COLUMN

A: Total number of precincts not tabulated for cited region in official Batasan count.

B: Total number of precincts tabulated in excess of stated number of precincts for cited region in official Batasan count.

C: Total number of provinces and cities involved in columns A & B.

D: Total number of provinces and cities with no precinct figures tabulated in official Batasan count.

E: Total number of provinces and cities with all precincts tabulated accurately in official Batasan count.

REGION	A	B	C	D	E
NCR	-164	--	6	2	2
I	-53	+137	2	4	4
II	-40	--	3	4	--
III	-119	--	4	3	4
IV	-28	+3	3	10	6
V	-45	--	3	5	1
VI	-119	+1	5	6	3
VII	-30	--	3	6	4
VIII	-128	+20	4	3	--
IX	-92	--	4	1	5
X	-161	--	4	6	4
XI	-91	--	4	--	2
XII	-74	--	2	3	3
TOTALS	-1,103	+161	47	53	38

VOTE TALLY DISCREPANCIES
COMPARISON OF NAMFREL TALLIES AND OFFICIAL BATASAN CANVASS
FEBRUARY 7, 1986 PHILIPPINE ELECTION

PROVINCE	NAMFREL			BATASAN 99% TALLIED	
	% TALLIED	MARCOS	AQUINO	MARCOS	AQUINO
Ilocos Norte	29%	59,771	1,939	189,897	718
Isabela	19%	57,012	26,443	402,860	20,072
Misamis Occ	54%	24,292	43,002	51,758	41,470
Iloilo City	100%	55,735	64,889	55,282	63,708
Bacolod City	100%	54,464	67,293	52,951	65,231
Lanao Norte	60%	36,373	52,793	100,383	44,070
Ifugao	48%	7,447	11,378	4,742	6,600
Naga City	100%	11,029	30,080	10,874	30,080

LOSS OF VOTES: PARTIAL COMPARISON OF NAMFREL AND BATASAN TALLIES BY CANDIDATE FOR LISTED PROVINCES AND CITIES

	MARCOS	AQUINO
Ilocos Norte		-1,221
Isabela		-6,371
Misamis Occ		-1,532
Iloilo City	-453	-1,181
Bacolod City	-1,513	-2,062
Lanao Norte		-8,723
Ifugao	-2,705	-4,778
Naga City	-155	
NET LOSS:	-4,826	-25,377

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
REGIONAL TALLY

REGION	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	% TO REG VOTERS	
NCR	4,268,820	12,323	1,313,750	1,541,725	1,333,817	1,297,451	232,316	11,421	92.7%	66.9%
REGION 01	1,949,239	4,480	717,958	344,715	668,336	309,654	82,004	4,159	64.2%	54.4%
REGION 02	1,188,066	4,007	202,713	106,727	191,051	110,052	6,143	1,241	31.0%	26.0%
REGION 03	2,550,935	7,901	719,355	858,249	706,737	773,142	95,136	6,137	77.9%	61.8%
REGION 04	3,364,298	10,668	944,107	1,157,493	681,882	1,355,665	57,437	8,185	76.7%	62.5%
REGION 05	1,513,203	5,634	369,134	652,837	335,656	639,744	29,499	4,621	82.0%	69.5%
REGION 06	2,159,736	7,886	580,514	576,809	534,441	565,662	57,674	5,217	66.2%	53.6%
REGION 07	1,980,641	6,542	569,900	729,244	586,721	700,357	9,194	5,324	81.1%	65.3%
REGION 08	1,325,813	5,449	466,372	331,951	461,080	324,602	19,925	3,910	71.8%	60.2%
REGION 09	1,233,129	4,440	286,676	274,897	269,211	264,449	4,735	2,661	60.3%	43.9%
REGION 10	1,455,801	4,632	474,623	480,737	470,552	477,209	9,619	3,830	82.7%	65.6%
REGION 11	1,733,779	5,178	529,056	609,804	520,959	379,535	36,025	4,537	87.6%	64.9%
REGION 12	1,373,261	4,809	223,041	242,132	218,059	231,048	8,356	2,147	44.6%	33.9%
GRAND TOTAL	26,124,721	85,939	7,376,599	7,909,320	6,978,702	7,648,570	648,097	63,410	73.8%	58.5%

(Exhibit Y)

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
NCR										
MANILA	1,039,466	3,549	373,820	399,723	387,823	388,381	64,456	3,415	96.2%	73.5%
QUEZON CITY	854,350	2,283	281,125	343,780	292,797	283,973	81,418	2,242	98.2%	73.0%
CALOOCAN CITY	326,804	923	106,511	106,866	107,894	91,746	13,105	837	90.7%	65.3%
PASAY CITY	208,633	615	74,037	72,956	74,603	69,634	26,398	607	98.7%	71.4%
PASIG	187,297	529	52,223	77,742	54,064	66,389	8,890	510	96.4%	69.4%
MARIKINA	148,388	413	42,118	70,679	46,323	55,645	10,684	413	100.0%	78.1%
LAS PINAS	118,846	304	34,644	45,531	34,920	41,252	3,646	303	99.7%	67.8%
PARANAQUE	165,946	451	44,950	72,985	46,337	65,784	5,708	450	99.8%	71.1%
MAKATI	350,789	846	62,927	53,928	61,243	49,314	6,118	463	54.7%	33.3%
MALABON	136,183	408	42,489	52,131	42,985	44,931	6,069	404	99.0%	69.5%
NAVOTAS	101,689	279	24,077	27,506	24,147	23,272	4,165	244	87.5%	50.7%
VALENZUELA	140,861	415	45,485	64,023	47,544	55,062	6,410	404	97.3%	77.7%
SAN JUAN	96,049	260	31,609	35,662	20,852	25,357	20,963	261	100.4%	70.0%
MANDALUYONG	148,359	414	39,370	54,868	37,356	48,341	8,578	393	94.9%	63.6%
TAGUIG	102,967	263	33,536	40,043	32,711	37,190	3,470	263	100.0%	71.5%
PATEROS	21,487	77	5,446	7,852	5,606	7,064	598	54	70.1%	61.9%
MUNTINLUPA	122,506	294	17,355	25,430	16,902	24,196	1,670	158	53.7%	34.9%
SUB-TOTAL, NCR	4,266,820	12,323	1,313,750	1,541,725	1,333,817	1,297,451	232,346	11,421	92.7%	66.9%

MANFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 01										
ABRA	87,366	340	26,623	3,065	26,084	3,433	133	116	34.1%	34.0%
BENGUET	115,154	379	32,970	37,699	33,984	34,475	1,784	279	73.6%	61.4%
BAGUIO CITY	86,158	243	35,151	20,684	34,454	18,791	2,625	204	84.0%	64.8%
ILOCOS NORTE	197,983	624	21,934	271	21,597	467	34	71	11.4%	11.2%
LAOAG	45,775	136	20,707	803	20,126	1,082	487	71	52.2%	47.0%
ILOCOS SUR	247,587	960	125,686	21,474	120,795	25,379	651	635	66.1%	59.4%
LA UNION	264,103	791	94,190	14,085	90,462	16,233	1,236	361	45.6%	41.0%
MT. PROVINCE	46,245	171	4,763	6,457	4,454	6,406	242	62	36.3%	24.7%
PANGASINAN	757,935	2,455	320,422	203,492	284,278	175,357	58,955	2,023	82.4%	69.1%
DAGUPAN CITY	53,992	230	20,011	22,447	17,010	15,544	9,929	213	92.6%	78.6%
SAN CARLOS CITY	46,941	151	15,451	16,038	12,892	12,487	5,090	124	82.1%	67.1%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 01	1,949,239	6,480	717,958	346,715	660,336	309,654	82,004	4,159	64.2%	54.6%

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 02										
BATANES	7,022	34	2,477	2,141	2,475	2,223	17	28	82.4%	65.3%
CAGAYAN	388,976	1,121	70,290	17,397	69,075	17,805	415	337	30.1%	22.5%
TUGUEGARAO		119	8,132	4,392	8,615	4,240	310	43	36.1%	FFR
IFUGAO	51,326	192	3,833	7,133	4,687	6,899	580	57	29.7%	25.3%
ISABELA	459,837	1,521	53,116	24,899	50,310	26,579	344	285	18.7%	17.0%
KALINGA-APAYAO	99,283	348	14,758	9,134	12,700	8,034	2,978	100	31.0%	24.1%
NUEVA VISCAYA	133,259	510	47,449	40,917	42,620	43,483	1,486	377	73.9%	66.3%
QUIRINO	48,361	162	456	710	561	789	11	6	3.7%	2.8%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 02	1,188,066	4,007	202,713	106,727	191,051	110,052	6,143	1,241	31.0%	26.0%

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINCTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	% TO REG VOTERS	
REGION 03										
BATAAN	185,380	566	60,959	59,944	58,375	56,635	5,266	489	86.4%	45.2%
BULACAN	630,024	1,823	196,191	251,265	195,782	217,656	32,941	1,647	90.3%	71.0%
NUEVA ECIJA	430,876	1,447	122,515	89,192	116,791	89,042	4,795	892	61.6%	49.1%
CABANATUAN CITY	76,486	231	26,478	18,649	25,449	19,033	1,281	167	72.3%	59.0%
PALAYAN CITY	9,854	36	2,555	799	2,318	969	31	12	33.3%	34.0%
SAN JOSE CITY	37,305	114	14,697	8,586	13,563	7,716	1,997	77	67.5%	62.3%
PAMPANGA	460,807	1,421	112,737	244,646	113,793	209,712	31,824	1,388	97.7%	72.6%
ANGELES CITY	98,044	343	19,974	50,124	21,001	38,750	10,040	144	100.3%	71.5%
TARLAC	353,414	776	25,383	18,430	24,282	17,565	1,026	155	20.0%	12.4%
TARLAC-TARLAC		291	24,287	41,954	23,987	39,390	2,745	247	84.9%	ERR
ZAMBALES	159,821	518	73,608	45,923	71,271	48,203	1,467	456	88.0%	74.8%
OLONGAPO CITY	108,844	335	39,969	28,737	40,225	28,441	923	283	84.5%	63.1%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 03	2,550,935	7,901	719,355	858,249	706,737	773,142	95,136	6,157	77.9%	61.8%

MANFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 04										
AURORA	49,894	200	14,797	13,534	13,992	13,797	379	142	71.0%	56.8%
BATANGAS	482,645	1,443	117,041	183,946	22,867	276,567	2,311	1,073	74.4%	62.4%
BATANGAS CITY	77,976	229	20,403	37,853	5,171	50,596	421	202	88.2%	74.7%
LIPA CITY	64,424	206	19,479	30,239	7,321	38,773	3,854	194	94.2%	77.2%
CAVITE	435,456	1,215	160,297	122,055	142,987	128,648	8,883	1,006	82.8%	64.8%
CAVITE CITY	56,595	170	24,453	12,632	22,845	12,536	1,000	133	78.2%	65.5%
TAGAYTAY CITY	11,016	33	5,060	3,132	3,468	4,630	85	33	100.0%	74.4%
TRECE MARTIRES	8,749	19							0.0%	0.0%
LAGUNA	311,084	1,571	147,359	176,645	105,133	204,033	13,011	1,197	76.2%	63.3%
SAN PABLO CITY	77,788	276	25,068	35,229	14,838	43,717	1,771	255	92.4%	77.5%
MARINDUQUE	89,289	287	29,861	34,152	23,560	39,681	548	239	83.3%	71.7%
MINDORO OCC	110,382	337	33,879	26,940	30,751	29,048	604	257	76.3%	55.1%
MINDORO OR	201,895	457	50,657	65,909	33,859	80,791	2,273	446	75.5%	57.7%
PALAWAN	157,136	519	14,738	21,225	15,323	22,227	111	138	26.6%	24.2%
PUERTO PRINCESA C	41,299	105	13,582	12,410	12,998	12,621	234	82	78.1%	62.9%
QUEZON	444,671	1,823	107,851	183,054	70,570	216,755	4,199	1,390	76.2%	62.6%
LUCENA CITY	61,991	209	18,521	27,654	13,551	31,567	911	200	95.7%	74.5%
RIZAL	376,786	1,065	121,841	152,632	127,456	129,090	16,737	998	93.7%	72.8%
ROMBLON	85,222	267	17,217	18,852	15,192	29,588	105	150	56.2%	42.3%
ROMBLON CITY		37							0.0%	ERR
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 04	3,564,298	10,668	944,107	1,157,493	681,882	1,355,665	57,437	8,185	76.7%	62.5%

MAKFREL : OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 05										
ALBAY	298,802	1,095	66,674	149,854	61,450	145,024	14,871	950	86.8%	72.4%
LEGASPI CITY	50,681	172	15,819	24,432	14,780	24,373	1,468	159	92.4%	79.4%
CAMARINES NORTE	142,518	489	32,489	66,226	30,688	67,147	534	426	87.1%	66.3%
CAMARINES SUR	415,318	1,557	83,657	163,744	70,540	173,896	2,217	1,106	71.0%	59.6%
IRIGA CITY	32,778	100	8,904	17,314	8,316	17,653	114	96	96.0%	80.8%
NAGA CITY	50,984	201	10,352	29,363	8,600	32,027	291	195	97.0%	78.3%
CATANDUANES	78,110	362	29,072	29,359	28,786	28,165	599	314	86.7%	74.8%
MASBATE	278,572	827	57,382	78,749	33,879	79,715	2,033	610	73.8%	57.1%
SORSOGON	205,358	831	64,485	93,776	58,797	91,744	7,379	765	92.1%	77.1%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 05	1,513,203	5,634	369,134	652,837	335,856	659,744	29,499	4,621	82.0%	67.5%

MANFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 06										
AKLAN	158,815	511	32,585	36,313	30,731	36,014	1,426	253	49.5%	43.4%
ANTIQUE	168,904	774	49,717	61,119	40,748	68,326	895	584	75.5%	65.6%
CAPIZ	180,932	698	32,672	29,939	30,063	30,876	563	295	42.3%	34.4%
ROXAS CITY	44,570	154							0.0%	0.0%
ILOILO	581,797	2,337	167,585	139,670	145,577	183,689	18,487	1,694	72.5%	61.4%
ILOILO CITY	147,632	516	55,237	63,261	51,629	59,153	7,664	512	99.2%	80.3%
NEGROS DEL NORTE	174,034	585	13,912	19,097	18,605	17,435	1,354	157	26.8%	19.0%
CADIZ CITY	50,115	135	391	563	378	522	40	6	4.4%	1.9%
SAN CARLOS CITY	37,944	134							0.0%	0.0%
SILAY CITY	41,298	135	13,201	8,513	13,060	8,205	536	88	65.2%	52.6%
NEGROS OCC	354,417	1,180	132,013	86,202	122,154	89,078	14,570	954	80.8%	61.6%
BACOLOD CITY	151,525	313	53,501	46,079	52,970	56,155	10,892	504	98.2%	78.9%
BAGO CITY	42,993	131	15,769	10,157	15,227	9,579	611	90	68.7%	60.3%
LA CARLOTA CITY	24,760	83	13,931	5,896	13,299	6,110	636	80	96.4%	80.1%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 06	2,159,736	7,886	580,514	576,809	534,441	565,662	57,674	5,217	66.2%	53.6%

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 07										
BOHOL	378,992	1,369	135,901	127,084	137,229	124,013	1,289	1,084	79.2%	69.4%
TAGBILARAN CITY	26,361	79	2,768	13,047	10,813	10,960	148	79	100.0%	82.8%
CEBU	619,164	2,046	181,098	205,826	179,150	203,473	1,757	1,511	73.9%	62.5%
CEBU CITY	305,087	981	56,642	156,363	66,647	143,923	2,532	906	92.4%	69.8%
DAVAO CITY	58,696	147							0.0%	0.0%
LAPU-LAPU CITY	53,161	134	21,011	21,018	21,305	20,257	378	127	94.8%	79.1%
MANDAUE CITY	72,235	202	14,968	42,946	15,672	39,916	529	198	98.0%	80.2%
TOLEDO CITY	45,298	130	13,148	19,719	13,494	19,131	98	121	93.1%	72.4%
NEGROS OR	314,806	1,052	102,449	104,017	104,088	101,565	2,099	959	91.2%	65.6%
BAIS CITY	24,879	80	8,845	9,118	8,953	9,030	20	78	97.5%	72.2%
CANLAON CITY	14,647	43	7,328	3,074	7,238	3,084	28	42	97.7%	71.0%
DUMAGUETE CITY	37,887	150	9,656	21,191	12,027	19,173	319	147	98.0%	81.4%
SIQUIJOR	37,428	149	10,086	5,841	10,105	5,832	6	72	48.3%	42.6%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 07	1,988,641	6,562	569,900	729,244	586,721	700,357	9,194	5,324	81.1%	65.3%

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 08										
SAMAR (EASTERN)	134,528	651	39,977	49,253	38,052	48,026	2,598	515	78.8%	66.3%
LEYTE	535,694	2,017	215,433	108,170	215,712	107,413	2,381	1,434	71.1%	60.4%
ORMOC CITY	54,[illegible]	201	17,164	19,803	24,142	19,698	390	170	84.6%	67.8%
TACLOBAN CITY	62,814	211	31,945	18,095	31,614	17,102	1,161	205	97.2%	79.7%
SAMAR (NORTHERN)	165,909	679	52,544	43,796	47,302	44,828	3,943	532	78.4%	58.1%
SAMAR	172,434	863	49,440	38,367	45,347	33,030	8,730	346	41.3%	30.9%
CALBAYOG City	48,597	206	12,905	8,778	12,691	8,480	415	82	39.8%	44.5%
LEYTE (SOUTHERN)	130,919	821	46,964	45,609	46,220	46,025	311	428	68.9%	61.3%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 08	1,325,913	5,449	466,372	331,951	461,080	324,602	19,929	3,910	71.8%	60.2%

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 09										
BASILAN	92,240	345	9,702	13,251	9,110	12,512	599	139	40.3%	23.8%
SULU	230,930	661	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	0.0%
TAWI-TAWI	73,982	287	7,209	3,731	6,936	3,860	72	57	19.9%	14.8%
ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	181,379	805	46,505	32,982	45,254	32,961	202	371	46.1%	43.8%
DAPITAN CITY	27,408	100	12,339	9,474	12,363	9,204	60	99	99.0%	79.8%
DIPOLOG CITY	34,417	132	12,182	15,688	12,810	14,647	191	132	100.0%	81.0%
ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR	345,739	1,334	121,066	116,776	116,549	117,926	1,379	1,173	87.8%	65.0%
PAGADIAN CITY	43,554	157	13,389	16,883	13,650	16,337	407	152	96.8%	69.5%
ZAMBOANGA CITY	163,440	587	44,684	66,112	52,537	57,002	1,825	338	91.7%	60.4%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 09	1,233,129	4,410	266,076	274,897	269,211	264,449	4,735	2,661	60.3%	43.9%

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 10										
AGUSAN DEL NORTE	102,132	304	40,816	29,953	41,638	29,955	308	225	83.9%	69.3%
BUTUAN CITY	102,569	291	30,892	37,546	31,112	35,030	978	261	89.7%	66.7%
AGUSAN DEL SUR	137,939	467	35,619	29,090	32,888	29,988	285	252	54.0%	46.9%
BUKIDNON	309,076	928	94,047	97,044	94,180	97,120	2,058	752	81.0%	61.8%
CAMIGUIN	30,434	91	11,140	15,477	10,600	15,305	673	91	100.0%	82.5%
MISAMIS OCC	113,845	450	41,094	35,425	40,484	35,881	642	350	77.8%	67.2%
ORODUIETA CITY	25,486	90	8,667	12,903	8,627	12,826	85	89	98.9%	84.6%
OZAMIZ CITY	45,023	136	12,016	21,508	9,676	23,336	185	128	94.1%	74.5%
TANGUB CITY	19,210	70	5,130	88,382	5,222	11,250	29	70	100.0%	85.5%
MISAMIS OR	186,717	573	72,727	53,674	71,700	53,608	761	500	87.3%	67.4%
CAGAYAN DE ORO	149,116	404	46,198	61,223	49,726	57,075	1,464	391	96.8%	72.8%
GINGOG	39,238	152	17,038	13,176	16,766	13,279	756	142	93.4%	77.6%
SURIGAO DEL NORTE	149,801	530	46,724	42,433	45,228	42,976	784	409	77.2%	59.5%
SURIGAO CITY	45,245	146	12,515	20,583	12,785	19,540	818	140	95.9%	73.2%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 10	1,455,801	4,632	474,623	480,737	470,552	477,209	9,619	3,830	82.7%	65.6%

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION II										
COTABATO (SOUTH)	289,175	866	83,745	110,893	76,977	96,970	10,352	790	91.2%	67.3%
GEN. SANTOS CTY	89,113	253	20,243	35,726	19,875	29,964	5,720	238	94.1%	62.8%
DAVAO DEL SUR	243,633	716	81,198	62,734	78,662	62,679	1,737	544	76.0%	59.1%
DAVAO CITY	343,836	1,075	109,465	139,150	118,482	124,386	6,956	996	92.7%	68.4%
DAVAO DEL NORTE	415,005	1,198	140,187	124,883	134,986	129,206	2,085	1,000	83.5%	63.9%
DAVAO ORIENTAL	164,233	497	40,651	63,948	58,685	65,177	726	447	89.9%	63.7%
SURIGAO DEL SUR	188,984	573	53,567	72,430	53,292	71,153	449	522	91.1%	66.7%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg II	1,753,779	5,178	529,056	609,804	520,959	579,535	36,025	4,537	87.6%	64.9%

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

PROVINCE	REG NO VOTERS	NO. OF PRECINTS	MARCOS	AQUINO	TOLENTINO	LAUREL	KALAW	PRECINCTS IN	%	% TO REG VOTERS
REGION 12										
COTABATO (NORTH)	283,009	873	70,468	86,464	68,085	83,221	2,819	721	82.6%	55.5%
LANAO DEL NORTE	189,791	649	26,325	29,564	26,094	29,056	232	255	39.3%	29.4%
ILIGAN CITY	95,602	279	23,127	42,322	27,552	37,197	558	263	94.3%	68.5%
LANAO DEL SUR	242,164	1,357	9,745	5,338	8,520	5,181	14	116	8.5%	6.2%
MARAWI CITY	39,454	154	11,555	7,721	10,097	8,683	81	111	72.1%	48.9%
MAGUINDANAO	332,575	928	44,726	25,588	40,334	26,802	1,672	312	33.6%	21.1%
COTABATO CITY	49,044	150	8,743	19,021	10,111	16,929	561	150	100.0%	56.6%
SULTAN KUDARAT	141,622	419	28,352	26,114	27,266	23,979	2,417	219	52.3%	38.5%
SUB-TOTAL, Reg 12	1,373,261	4,809	223,041	242,132	218,059	231,048	8,356	2,147	44.6%	33.9%

(Exhibit Y)

SOURCE: BUSINESS DAY
Tuesday, February 11, 1986

NATIONWIDE TALLY	As of 8 pm February 10 C O M E L E C	%	As of 12 M.N. Febfuary 10 NAMFREL	%
MARCOS	3,813,688	51.37	5,971,693	47.28
AQUINO	3,610,099	48.63	6,658,838	52.72
TOLENTINO	3,539,439	48.40	5,620,591	44.50
LAUREL	3,463,108	46.65	6,433,250	50.93

COMELEC COUNT
08 February 1986
6:00 am

	MARCOS	AQUINO
NCR	39,878	53,261
I	32,372	13,102
II	5,849	1,104
III	7,152	13,504
IV	10,048	14,070
V	5,411	11,273
VI	1,174	883
VII	2,694	4,954
VIII	8,231	4,844
IX	899	1,132
X	16,874	12,721
XI	3,267	4,297
XII	2,044	3,367
TOTAL-President	135,893	138,512

COMELEC COUNT
08 February 1986
12:50 noon

	MARCOS	AQUINO
NCR		
I	12,091	2,691
II	36,370	41,081
III	73,729	80,614
IV	21,207	38,985
V	10,161	9,787
VI	7,342	11,985
VII	12,637	8,162
VIII	3,620	4,486
IX	22,958	17,224
X	8,746	11,377
XI	3,398	7,098
XII		
TOTAL-president	379,497	401,698

COMELEC COUNT
08 February 1986
2:50 pm

	MARCOS	AQUINO
NCR		
I	73,285	28,681
II	13,587	3,814
III	36,370	41,089
IV		81,689
V	21,207	38,985
VI	10,161	9,787
VII	7,342	11,985
VIII	15,692	
IX	3,620	4,436
X	24,415	19,383
XI	11,443	13,814
XII	4,998	8,917
TOTAL-President	415,082	424,029

COMELEC COUNT
08 FEBRUARY 1986
6:00 p.m.

	MARCOS	AQUINO
NCR	193,055	266,325
I		
II	36,512	10,506
III	55,147	77,569
IV	98,809	110,813
V	41,591	78,295
VI	10,161	9,787
VII	21,104	26,331
VIII	27,115	16,919
IX		
X	44,608	46,632
XI	17,955	20,895
XII	11,307	19,183
TOTALS-President	673,428	732,572

COMELEC COUNT
09 February 1986
1:35 p.m.

	MARCOS	AQUINO
NCR	651,192	818,764
I	392,953	166,546
II	107,893	40,620
III	190,916	213,034
IV	312,290	351,433
V	108,280	202,899
VI	88,947	77,246
VII	109,600	151,452
VIII	79,520	49,307
IX	61,161	74,865
X	126,933	123,056
XI	65,410	92,805
XII	62,817	75,407
TOTALS-President	2,357,912	2,450,495
VPresident	1,911,744	2,319,362

Percentage of precincts reported 22.9%

COMELEC COUNT
09 February 1986
7:30 p.m.

	MARCOS	AQUINO
NCR		
I		
II	114,762	46,206
III	197,	
IV	318,505	357,525
V	110,139	206,992
VI	95,411	81,321
VII	109,600	151,452
VIII	87,839	53,711
IX	63,281	77,885
X	130,973	126,089
XI	65,410	92,805
XII	66,395	92,962
TOTALS-President	2,586,472	2,554,316
VPresident	2,442,725	2,414,857

COMELEC COUNT
09 February 1986
8:50 pm

	MARCOS	AQUINO
NCR	651,192	818,764
I	575,782	229,023
II	114,762	46,208
III	197,183	219,579
IV	318,505	357,525
V	110,139	206,992
VI	95,411	81,321
VII	109,600	151,452
VIII	87,839	53,711
IX	63,281	77,885
X	130,973	126,089
XI	65,410	92,805
XII	66,395	92,962
TOTAL-President	2,586,472	2,554,316
VPresident	2,442,725	2,414,857

COMELEC COUNT
09 February 1986
9:30 p.m.

	MARCOS	AQUINO
NCR		
I		
II		
III	208,170	238,340
IV	358,944	412,347
V	118,479	222,399
VI	114,885	101,910
VII	132,039	170,106
VIII	90,504	55,826
IX	64,400	84,959
X	154,158	144,688
XI	71,059	99,165
XII	67,778	96,333
TOTALS -President	3,051,236	2,903,348
VPresident	2,877,088	2,777,496

COMELEC COUNT
11 February 1986
7:-20 p.m.

MARCOS	%	VOTE DIFFERENCE	%	AQUINO	%
5,899,873	52.28	515,505	4.57	5,384,368	47.72

TOLENTINO	%		%	LAUREL	%
5,636,386	51.76	383,996	3.53	5,252,390	48.24

Count as of 5:00 p.m. direct from COMELEC

COMELEC COUNT
12 February 1986
7:00 a.m.

MARCOS	%	VOTE DIFFERENCE	%	AQUINO	%
6,449,522	52.20%	543,316	4.40%	5,906,206	47.80%

TOLENTINO	%	VOTE DIFFERENCE	%	LAUREL	%
6,142,225	51.55%	368,841	3.10%	5,773,384	48.45%

NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF TOTAL PRECINCTS REPORTED

COMELEC COUNT
13 February 1986
8:00 a.m.

MARCOS	%	VOTE DIFFERENCE	%	AQUINO	%
7,164,392	52.34%	640,823	4.68%	6,523,569	47.66%

TOLENTINO	%	VOTE DIFFERENCE	%	LAUREL	%
6,834,744	51.74%	459,424	3.48%	6,375,320	48.26%

PERCENTAGE OF PRECEINTS COUNTED: 64%